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M I L L

ON THE

MYTHICAL INTERPRETATION
OF THE GOSPELS.

Cambridge:

PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A.
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

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C. K. OGDEN

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

ATTEMPTED APPLICATION

OF

PANTHEISTIC PRINCIPLES

TO THE

THEORY AND HISTORIC CRITICISM
OF THE GOSPEL.

BEING THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE'S PUBLICATIONS
FOR THE YEARS 1840—1844.

BY

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OF CAMBRIDGE.

SECOND EDITION.

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CAMBRIDGE:

DEIGHTON, BELL, AND CO.

LONDON: BELL AND DALDY.

1861.

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P R E F A C E.

THE present volume contains a Second Edition of the five Essays which the lamented author published separately in successive years, from 1840 to 1844, while he held the office of Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge.

The task which Dr Mill undertook, as Christian Advocate, was to refute the Mythical Interpretation of the Evangelic History; and the plan of the work, as sketched by himself, comprised a First Part, discussing the application of Pantheistic Principles to the theory of the Gospel, and a Second Part, considering their application to the actual Historical Records of Christianity. This undertaking was nearly, but not wholly, accomplished.

The First Part appeared in a complete form as the Christian Advocate's publication for the year 1840. The Second Part was intended to contain three chapters: I. On the Birth of St John the Baptist; II. On the Descent and Parentage of our Lord; and III. On the details of our Lord's Birth and Infancy, as recorded by St Matthew and St Luke. Of this last chapter the concluding section alone is wanting. It would have contained a vindication of the Second Chapter of St Luke's Gospel against Mythical Interpreters, and a proof of its consistency with St Matthew's narrative; but this final portion of the whole work was never written.

It had been Dr Mill's intention, when he found that he could not complete the subject in his five official publications as Christian Advocate, to finish the work in the year subsequent to his retirement from that office. But, his residence at Cambridge having terminated in 1844, the constant and laborious ministrations of a long neglected country parish, to which he had been collated by Archbishop Howley, obliged him to postpone the fulfilment of his undertaking. His election, in the autumn of 1848, to the Regius Professorship of Hebrew, imposed new and more important duties; and from that time to his decease, after a very short illness, on Christmas Day, 1853, the preparation of his Professorial Lectures left him no time for the completion of the present work by the addition of its final section.

The separate Essays which form the present work were first collected into one volume by the Editor in 1854. That volume is now out of print, and a new edition seemed called for at a time when many of the topics here discussed have been made the subject of recent controversy among us. That the principles embodied in the well-known *Essays and Reviews* would before long find advocates in this country was clearly foreseen by Dr Mill, and distinctly predicted in his original Preface, dated in 1840. It was in order to meet this particular danger beforehand, that he considered it to be his duty, as Christian Advocate at Cambridge, to oppose German Rationalism in general, and in particular that latest form of it which was exhibited in Strauss's attempt to apply Pantheistic principles to the theory and the historic criticism of the Gospel. Dr Mill's vindication of the Evangelic narratives from the proposed mythical method of interpretation may be regarded as complete. And in the opinion of many competent critics the present work forms a sufficient answer, though by anticipation, to many of the difficulties and objections which have been urged in the *Essays and Reviews* as though they were

new, and as though they had never been refuted. It may perhaps be asserted that nowhere else can be found a more masterly examination of the Hegelian philosophy in its connexion with modern Rationalism, or a more convincing defence of the cardinal truth of the incarnation from all Neological opponents. Incidentally Dr Mill discusses the great general questions of inspiration, of prophecy, of miracles, of supernaturalism and the doctrine of angels, besides such points as the discrepancies between the two genealogies of our Lord and the age and authenticity of the Book of Daniel. In fact, the present work is a storehouse of arguments and authorities suitable for the defence of the truths which have been assailed in the controversy that is now disturbing the Church.

The work of the Editor in preparing this new Edition has been chiefly confined to embodying in the text the corrections and additions left by the Author in manuscript, and to a careful verification and revision of the quotations. The latter part of the task has proved to be unexpectedly laborious, not only from the great typographical inaccuracy of the original edition, but from the fact that the Editor was far distant, while most of these sheets were passing through the press, from any considerable library. This must be pleaded in excuse for any errors which may still be observed. In conclusion, he has to express his gratitude to his friend the Reverend Thomas Edmund Heygate for his efficient help in the whole work ; and to the Reverend Professor Jarrett, Dr Mill's successor in the Hebrew Chair at Cambridge, for his kindness in correcting the Sanskrit quotations.

SHEEN PARSONAGE, STAFFORDSHIRE,

September, 1861.

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[The Author did not live to write this Section.]

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ORIGINAL PREFACE.

THE object of the present treatise is to refute the Mythical Interpretation of the Gospels, which more than one critic of name has partially adopted, and which has lately reached its highest and most extravagant pitch in the work of Dr D. F. Strauss on the *Life of Jesus*: to point out its inadmissibility with respect to that earliest portion of the evangelic narrative to which alone it can be applied with any appearance of historical probability; and to which, consequently, if this mode of interpretation be proved to be incapable of application, its inapplicability to every subsequent portion is by much stronger reason demonstrably evinced. But in pursuing this subject, the necessity has been strongly felt of prefacing the examination with some account of the prepossession on the whole argument of God and religion with which this recent mythicizer of the Gospel undertakes his task; and under the influence of which he often professes that the essential truth of Christ's incarnation, sacrifice, and exaltation, is unshaken even by this treatment of its record. This enquiry was expected to form the subject of a single introductory chapter; but it was soon found too extensive for such limits: and it involved too many instructive considerations respecting the course which rationalistic infidelity is now constrained to pursue, and its connexion with the newest philosophy of Germany, to be relinquished when once undertaken. It has expanded into the seven sections of the First Part of the present work. The Second Part will contain a reply to Strauss's Introduction respecting the prophecies of the Messiah, and part of the history of the Incarnation.

But an explanation of a different kind may be required for the whole work itself. It may be asked why public attention should be in any way invited to a book of outrageous infidelity, which, however recent and however celebrated in Europe, few amongst us have read or care to read; which has never yet appeared in our language¹, though more than one English version has been offered for publication to the London booksellers,—the apprehended distaste of our general reading public conspiring with higher motives to prevent the acceptance of the offer. The question is a fair and a serious one; and it is not without full consideration of its importance that the present publication has been resolved on notwithstanding. I feel it, consequently, incumbent on me to state at length the grounds on which I entertain the decided conviction, that it were far better for this singular infidelity to be known, to the theological student at least, in its true distinctive features, than merely to have been heard of as an attack directed on scientific principles against the historical facts of revelation;—that under the circumstances which have made it notorious already, and those under which it is probable that the same principles may be brought to notice more speciously hereafter, there is much less harm and danger in the former nearer aspect, than in the latter;—nay, further, that the closer consideration of this attack may be positively serviceable to the cause of Christian truth, in its contest with irreligion and error in this, as in every other, part of the world.

In the first place, then, the work of Strauss, and the impression it has created in Europe, are phenomena in the religious history of the time; important, if for nothing else, at least for the crisis they indicate. There is not much in his elaborate work, of critical or philosophical moment, of which the processes have not been visible to enquiring eyes, as working in somewhat less suspected channels, before: his peculiarity is not so much originality of matter as what we may term in common parlance, the thorough-going style in which he carries out his conclusions. Now the same kind of advantage which a physician obtains from a disease coming to a crisis, is derived from this unsparing method to the defender of the Christian

¹ [An English translation of Strauss's *Life of Jesus* has been published since this was written. Ed.]

cause. The full, fairly stated development at all hazards of the rationalist principle, that *the miraculous must be fabulous*, may help to prevent the adoption of an intermediate state of sentiment on the Gospel story, in which the disease of infidelity exists as really, though not as strikingly, as in its extreme manifestation; and in which some might be induced to acquiesce, even from a knowledge of the existence of Strauss's strange hypothesis, without the powerful reasons for an opposite conclusion, which the actual survey of his grounds and method would supply. To show satisfactorily to English readers the incredibility of his mythic theory as applied to the Gospels, is not very difficult; it is well and ably done in few words in Mr [now Dean] Milman's recent *History of Christianity*². What we there desiderate, and what is no less necessary, is to prove the equal impossibility of resolving any of the great events of our Lord's life into occurrences that the same rationalistic philosophy might admit;—to prove, even with the aid of this adversary, that such a course is opposed alike to reason and to faith.

The outlines of this argument may be readily stated. To the infidelity that spurns the supernatural as impossible, two courses are open with respect to the Gospels; either, with the older Rationalists, to admit the historical character of their narrative, and deny the miraculous,—or, with this new mythic school, to affirm the miraculous character, and deny the historical. Both courses are opposed alike to true objective Christianity. For the divine object of faith is equally denied—when, as in the former method, the Person is indeed left us, but the attributes are withdrawn,—and when the person is withdrawn, as it is by the latter method, into the meteoric region of idealism, and the attributes left to attach themselves to humanity at large as the only display of God³. But the two methods are as diametrically opposed to each other, as either is to Catholic Christianity: they cannot without gross confusion of ideas be employed conjointly or alternately on the evangelical narratives, as we may have seen loosely attempted in some neological works preceding Strauss. His work has the merit of first setting these two methods in sharp contrast with each

² Vol. I. pp. 116 seq.

³ See Tholuck, *Glaubwürdigkeit der evang. Geschichte*, p. 18.

other; while he endeavours, both in theory and in detail, to refute the former that he may make room for the latter. And as nothing forbids our using the aid of a disciple of Paulus and the older Rationalists to refute the anti-historic mythicism of Strauss,—so is there nothing to forbid our using the weapons which Strauss himself may furnish us for confuting the pseudo-historical narratives which the others would substitute for the evangelical ones, under the name of explanations. It is the extreme critical absurdity of such explanations that has compelled the enemies of miracle to have recourse to the mythic theory: in proving this to be historically impossible, the object of the advocate of the Gospel is to evince to the Rationalist, that he must either be driven back to the absurdity he had relinquished, or embrace the miraculous history attested by the Apostles.

A second reason for entering upon this argument, and especially on that general department of it which is treated in the First Part of this work, is found in the philosophical principles with which the present mythical theory is associated. Those principles are far from sharing in the odium which this attack on the Gospels has excited; and attempts are not wanting in our popular literature to represent some of the teachers or precursors of the philosophy in question as entitled to the veneration of mankind. But it is not the less radically opposed to Christianity; and so long as it continues to be maintained as scientific truth, the emission from its bosom of attacks like the present, or even worse, is ever to be expected. It is indeed impossible to separate the cause of Strauss from that Hegelian philosophy of which he is known as a distinguished expositor and defender. Should his own citations, in the *Life of Jesus* and elsewhere, from the works of the deceased oracle and founder of the school, be considered as too interested testimony, it would be sufficient to point to the account of the controversy occasioned by his work among the Hegelians, as given by their historian Michelet. Without allowing that there is any ambiguity in the founder himself on the matter, the historian reluctantly concedes the possibility of a division in the school, in which the *côté droit* is occupied by those who to the Hegelian notion of God in man unite the reception of the whole Gospel history,—the *gauche* by those

who, with Strauss, deny the historical character of the Gospels altogether,—the *juste milieu* by such as, with his opponent Rosencrantz, deny it only of such supernatural parts as the miraculous conception, the resurrection, ascension, &c. But the victory of Strauss over the men of the *droit*, Bauer especially, on Hegelian principles, is represented as most complete and “crushing” by the historian; who concludes by proposing, in order to avoid the present “amphibious” character of the centre, a coalition of them with Strauss and his left, in order to secure a “compact majority” against the right. As for those who, like Schaller, take their stand on the personality of God and of Christ, they are too evidently wrong on Hegelian principles to be noticed in this division. It had been sufficiently intimated before, that Theists believing in an ulterior world, and in the divine incomprehensibility, have no business within the school: they were tauntingly given to understand that they should lay down their arms and philosophical profession, and go over to the ranks of the evangelical journalists that are awaiting them⁴.

If this be so, as we hear from these teachers themselves, the duty imposed on the watchmen of the city of God is plain. To enter into details of evidence must be useless, when the atmosphere through which all evidence is regarded is obscured and polluted. It is clear that there is a philosophy in Europe, which may soon visit ourselves, which has already in some departments begun to visit us,—a philosophy which regards God and nature in a light utterly irreconcilable with Christianity,—which rejects all notion of a Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier, above and beyond ourselves,—which discards all faith in the unseen, all hope of an *individual* immortality of being,—to which the Idea is God, and mankind at large is the Christ,—while the records of faith are “dreamy visions” and legends,—the only reality admitted in any system of traditional religion being the identity of our own highest reason with the Essence that is all-pervading and indestructible. Those to whom the Hegels and the Schellings are exhibited as restorers of philosophy, should at least

⁴ See Michelet, *Geschichte der letzten Systeme der Philosophie in Deutschland von Kant bis Hegel*, Vol. I. pp. 648—659, art. *Christologie*. See also pp. 641—648, art. *Personlichkeit Gottes*, and 638—641, art. *Unsterblichkeitlehre*.

know what is the kind of doctrine they are called on to admire. We hear much of laudable efforts to bring the saving truths of Christianity within the reach of the votaries of Brahmanism: but few amongst us are aware, that (while practical heathenism menaces us in our uninstructed population) the very esoteric doctrine of Brahmanism and of all pagan theology is now in the course of propagation to cultivated minds from the centre of Christian Europe. This fact alone might lead those, in every country, to whom the deposit of faith is the most cherished possession, to recognize their real adversary, and the divinely instituted means for collective resistance. It may lead them, beyond the miserable confusions of a divided Christendom, often causing such views to be met with suspicion and consequent misapprehension, to look only the more earnestly to the system which alone vanquished heathen philosophy in its power,—the only basis of union against infidelity without and within,—the doctrine and discipline of Christ's holy Catholic Church.

CAMBRIDGE,

November, 1840.

PART I.

SECTION I.

ON PANTHEISM IN RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY.

As the foundation of Natural Religion is the belief in *one God*, personally distinct from his creatures, yet intimately pervading and sustaining all,—so is that of express Revelation, in its last and perfect development, the belief in *one Christ*, the divine Word and Son personally incarnate in one individual of human kind, for the restitution and sanctification of the whole. And as there are many possible modes of virtually annulling these foundations, beside the open atheism which contradicts the former, or the direct antichristianism by which the latter is impugned,—so is there, after these, no more direct way to the annihilation of either truth, than by assailing the *unity* and *distinctness* of its being. The multiplication of gods is the well-known corruption of the true faith respecting the Deity in the popular systems of the heathen world: but in addition to this, and by no means in an ordinarily hostile relation to it, we find also a more subtle speculation of esoteric theology, by which, while the unity of the Divine essence is in terms strongly maintained, that essence is confounded with, and merged in, the substance of the universe¹. And were we to seek analogies severally in Christianity to these polytheistic and pantheistic corruptions of Natural Religion, they would be found in such forms of doctrine—as should either, on the one hand, exhibit the union of the divine with the human nature in a series of wholly separate incarnations,—or should,

¹ See Cudworth, *Intellectual System of the Universe*, Book i. ch. 4. (pp. 346—355); and Warburton, *Divine Legation*, Book iii. sec. 4, part 2. [Vol. ii. pp. 209—227, 5th Edit.]

on the other, turn that great mystery into an efflux of the Godhead from which all view of personal union is excluded; where the Christ is no longer in origin and essential glory infinitely above his brethren of mankind, but a generic expression of what is common to his Church,—a mere reflex of ideal Christendom, as the pantheistic God is a reflex of the world.

To this last-mentioned class belong, in fact, the earliest and the most recent of the perversions of Christianity that have assumed the name of science; proceeding in both instances, as might be expected, from those who had similarly corrupted the religion of nature. The latter of these is the object of animadversion in the present treatise: and differing as it does remarkably from the former in nearly all other respects,—and most remarkably in the total denial of angelic existence or of any super-human offspring of the Supreme,—its accordance in the two leading features of its theology with the early anti-apostolical teaching is such as to challenge special attention, in the duty to which the defender of Christianity now finds himself called².

No sooner was the dissemination of the Gospel extended beyond the limits of Judaism, than its contact began with that form of Gentile philosophy which declared all spiritual intelligences to be portions thrown out from the divine fullness,—and matter, as such, to be the source of all imperfection and degradation. The man whom the voice of antiquity concurs in stating to be the precursor of Gnosticism was one who proclaimed himself to be “the great power of God³,” and

² It is remarkable that the same name *Γνωσις* is assumed by both for their so-called scientific view of Christianity, which substitutes subjective reason for objective faith. Thus the work of Bauer, a distinguished writer of the recent school, is entitled *die Christliche Gnosis*—from which work I find several quotations in Michelet, one of which is thus introduced: “Bauer has very well hit the sense of the Hegelian doctrine, when he says, p. 715 of his *Christian Gnosis*: ‘The incarnation of God is no single once-occurring historical fact, but an eternal determination of the being of God; by virtue of which, inasmuch as God becomes man in time, in the person of each individual man, so far is he man from eternity.’ ‘Die Menschwerdung Gottes ist keine einzelne, einmal geschehene historische Thatsache, sondern eine ewige Bestimmung des Wesens Gottes, vermöge welcher Gott nur insofern in der Zeit Mensch wird (in jedem einzelnen Menschen), sofern er von Ewigkeit Mensch ist.’” Michelet [*History of German Philosophy*], II. 654.

³ Acts viii. 9, 10 seq. compared with Justin M. *Apol.* I. [73.] *Καὶ σχεδὸν πάντες Σαμαρεῖς μὲν, ὀλίγοι δὲ καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις ἔθνεσιν, ὡς τὸν πρῶτον Θεὸν ἐκείνον* (Simonem) *ὁμολογοῦντες προσκυνοῦσι.* [Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* II. 43]. This positive testimony, from a Samaritan, is by no means invalidated by the mistake which we may almost certainly attribute to Justin in the preceding clause, respecting the supposed statue of Simon at Rome [see the note in Lumper’s *Historia Patrum*, II.

who continued after his professed Christianity the previous Gentile pretension of being personally, in human form, an efflux of the divine power over nature,—either as a heretic in juxtaposition with Christ,—or as an apostate, in emulation of him. In this as in all the subsequent systems respecting the Divine Pleroma with its successive emanations and re-absorptions, we see on the one hand the same corruption of the earliest traditions of religion that has prevailed from early ages in the East, and remains there (even within the Mahometan portion) still; and, on the other, the endeavour to engraft this pagan theory on a religion whose incomprehensible, but strictly defined, mystery resisted constantly the attempted amalgamation. From their “endless genealogies” of emanating *Æons*, in which the Life and Light, the Church, and Man, and Christ, are found grouped in a variety of ways, equally strange and arbitrary,—it is plain that, in the minds of these teachers and their admiring disciples, the descent of the Son of God from the Father for the salvation of man was less an object of simple reception as a sacred *fact*, than a *placitum* which they might handle as they thought fit; one which ‘had its place, not in history but in philosophy,’ in the eternal world of divine existence, of which each man’s spirit was a portion,—and which they might accordingly find reflected, as in a mirror, in their own psychological contemplations and fantastic reasonings. The contest with such theories on the part of the early Church was soon exchanged for more tangible ones;—when the “mystery of godliness” was assailed, in less contemplative regions, by men who either denied the sameness of divine nature in the Son and the Father who sent him, or eluded in other ways the mystery which recurred inevitably on every side: and when subsequently the genius of both the East and the West appeared concerned in the questions that gradually, yet inevitably, arose within the Church, as to the mode of combining the assertion of strict unity in the Saviour’s person, with the maintenance of the entire truth both of his divinity

68]. Nor is there anything in that statement, or in others of later writers—(e.g. that of Jerome on Matt. xxiv. where Simon is mentioned as “*hæc inter cætera in suis voluminibus scripta dimittens, Ego sum Sermo Dei, ego speciosus, ego Paraclætus, ego Omnipotens, ego omnia Dei*”),—which should appear so incredible in itself to any who have seen precisely the same statement in heathen pantheists, as to necessitate any critical methods for explaining away the apparent absurdity. See Dr Burton, Lecture IV. on the *Heresies of the Apostolic Age*.

and his humanity. Amidst these and other more engrossing subjects, the monsters of opinion which the Church had from the beginning rejected from her bosom ceased to engage such direct attention as before: but the fact that they existed notwithstanding, and propagated themselves down to a late period, even in Western Europe, proves that idealities of this description may have their hold on the human mind, even in a state of society and mental culture most remote from that of the East, from which they spring. The species of Gnosticism which thus subsisted during the middle ages was connected with the Manichean dualism: but it treated the contemplative soul as a portion of the Good Spirit, though imprisoned in the material world: and its reception was ever attended with a contemptuous rejection of the historical facts of the Gospel, and of all other than a mythical or allegorical conception of them⁴.

It is not however to the Docetæ of old, or the Paulicians of the middle age, that we need point for a proof either of the connexion of pantheistic spiritualism with historic unbelief, or the unreasonableness of slighting the beacons that even the strangest opinions supply to the ecclesiastical student. The error which confounds the creature with the Creator, and denies the historic Jesus to be the one manifestation of God in the flesh, has reappeared in a very different shape, and (though scarcely less extravagant in speculation, yet) more accommodated to modern habits of thought, in that country of Europe which most unites the mental attributes of the East and West, —which combines, in an uncommon degree, the Oriental imaginativeness and aptitude for abstract speculation with the power

⁴ See the documents and authorities contained in my learned friend Mr [now Dr] Maitland's unanswerable work, *Facts and Documents illustrative of the history, &c. of the Albigenses and Waldenses* (London, 1832)—unanswerable, as shewing the total difference of those two sects, and the real antichristian heresy of the former.

The Canons of Orleans, who in the eleventh century were apprehended for this heresy, professed aloud their disbelief of the Gospel history of the miraculous conception and the literal resurrection of our Lord from death; treating this, as well as the creation of the world, as matters for carnal men, written in *membranis animalium*, while their own ideal conception of Christ was alone divine and true. The utter baselessness of the attempt to represent these unhappy men, however cruelly treated, as martyrs for a purer faith, has been fully pointed out in a published letter on Mr Faber's work, which Mr Maitland did me the honour to address to me, last year [1839].

On the subject of other alleged displays of Pantheism within the Church, see Appendix A.

of patient critical research which is peculiarly the boast of Christian Europe.

The pantheistic view of the Deity was revived in Europe in 1670 by the publication of the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, and by the subsequent posthumous works, of Spinoza; who had found in the Cabbala of his own original nation and religion its first principle that God is the very substance of the Universe⁵, and who invested it with a materialistic form unknown to the ancient Oriental system. The horror excited in Europe by this doctrine was general for more than a century following. We find it in Germany, as elsewhere, as late as 1785, when Mendelssohn zealously vindicated Lessing's memory against Jacobi from the charge of participating in it. But the philosophical writings of Schelling and Hegel have since given its distinctive principles a complacent admission and a currency which they never before this age possessed in any part of Christendom⁶. The former went far beyond his predecessors in teaching an absolute indifference or identity between the subject and the object, between the thought and the essence contemplated: and the identity of man with God, which in this school of "subjective idealism" was made a matter of intuition, the latter professed to demonstrate by a system of logical definition and analysis of our conceptions. From this last school of Hegel and his "absolute idealism" Strauss has sprung: and it is far more from a desire of working out on a historical ground the philosophical principles of his master, than from any attachment to mythical

⁵ Concerning this principle of the Cabbala, in which it stands distinguished not only from Mosaic, but from ordinary Talmudic, Judaism, and by which it is assimilated to the Gnostic systems in early Christian History, see Appendix B.

⁶ An objection has been made by some of these philosophers to the use of the name "Pantheist" as applied to them. But to whom can that name be given if not to those who teach, that God is no person with respect to other persons, but the *personality* of all beings,—that when any one thinks and reasons, it is so far not he (the individual) but the Universal Spirit that is in him; that then alone is a subjective mind purely evil, when arrogating to itself (not, as all pious Theists say, an independence of God's authority, or a will opposed to His, but) a *distinct personality* from that of God? See Appendix C, in which these Hegelian positions, which are far more easily translated into the Latin of the schools than into English, are exhibited in contrast with the Christian statements, not of a professed divine, but of the greatest of physical philosophers.

St Augustine says (*Confess.* iv. 26), with reference to his former ideas as a Manichean, "*Superbis resistis. Quid autem superbius, quam ut assererem mīrā dementia me id esse naturaliter, quod Tu es?*" But this *acme* of spiritual arrogance is as little scrupled by our Hegelians, as by Faustus, or the Yogi devotees of India.

theories on their own account, that we are clearly to deduce the destructive process which he has applied to the life of Jesus. For though it is only in what he terms the Conclusion (*Schlussabhandlung*) of his work that he draws out in detail the philosophical points of his Christology, as though they were the results of his preceding critical examination, we have only here an example of the maxim that what is last in execution is first in intention,—a maxim verified in most undertakings of a systematic or quasi-systematic character, but seldom more remarkably exemplified than here. The spirit of the desired conclusion pervades the detail as well as the plan of all the earlier parts of the work: in matters of properly historical or critical discussion we constantly find the usual elements of such enquiries abandoned, and philosophical considerations invoked at every turn. The very freedom from prepossession with which the author boasts of instituting the enquiry—a groundless boast in every case, as Neander⁷ has remarked, and only indicating, where it is preferred, the substitution of a new prepossession for the old and most probably legitimate one, by which the divinely imposed laws of man's nature require him to be governed,—this freedom is in his case nothing else than a determination to make all considerations of reverence for older authority, however supported by critical or historical argument, to yield to the application of the new Hegelian metaphysics which he considers as established truth. Hence, before proceeding to the examination of the mythical process he employs, it is important to trace from the last part of his work what is the view of the Christian mystery with which he undertook the enquiry, and to which he intends his whole critical examination to be subservient. [Sections II. and III.] The next step will be to examine both the internal consistency of these principles [Section IV.], and their alleged connexion with the criticism of the life of Jesus [Sections V. and VI.],—in order to ascertain how far they coincide, or can by any just process of argument be made to cohere together. This will enable us to form some previous idea of the rationale [Section VII.] of that mythicizing process—which will then

⁷ In the introduction to his *Life of Jesus Christ*:—"Wir hören vielfach von einer *Voraussetzungslosigkeit* reden," &c. &c.

be considered in its method and detail [in Part II. of this work] as applied to one part of the Evangelical history:—the smallest part indeed of all, as well as the earliest,—but one to which if this method cannot apply, it will be universally confessed, that it is by far stronger reason inapplicable to every other.

SECTION II.

CHRISTOLOGY OF THE NEW PANTHEISTIC SYSTEM.—

I. WHAT IT IS NOT.

STRAUSS¹ commences the dogmatic portion of his work by the announcement that he proposes to restore to the pious believer all that he might think was lost by the destructive mythical process applied to the life of Jesus, and which is to him most sacred;—"the boundless treasure of truth and life which for 1800 years past has nourished humanity" and has united earth and heaven. Such a proposition on the part of the critic, to whom these considerations "are no jewels²," will have little weight, as he is well aware, with the believer: yet will he of pure generosity attempt the accommodation; and as the best believer has something of the critic within him, "as a concealed remnant of unbelief, or rather as a negative germ of science," so will he, critic as he is, show that he is somewhat of a believer;—that he is indeed impregnated with esteem for every religion, and especially for the Christian, which is the highest of all. Such is indeed, as he declares, the spirit of the nineteenth century, as distinguished from that of the Naturalists and the Freethinkers of the preceding age: and in exact proportion as he complies with this spirit, by taking religion off from the ground of *historical* faith,—so far is he contributing to establish the identity of this most excellent religion with the highest philosophic truth.

¹ § 142. Vol. II. p. 718.

² *Ib.* p. 719. "—sofern er (der Kritiker) was ihm selbst kein Kleinod ist, aus Accommodation an den Glauben als solches behandelt," &c. &c.

To accomplish this conciliation with what is assumed as the only truth, and thus to convert *faith* into *science*,—the existing systems, which set up certain historic facts as the objects of Christian belief, must first be disposed of. And here the first place is justly claimed by “the Christology of the orthodox system³.” In stating this system, Strauss first fully recognizes its ground in the Scriptures of the New Testament, the most appropriate passages of which, in the Gospels and Epistles, he alleges and classifies. He descants even warmly and eloquently on the fulness of purifying and exalting conceptions which flow to the Church from the view of this *her* Christ, in whom the divinity and humanity is seen united, of his incarnation and birth, his life, death, resurrection and ascension to heaven, with the prospect of his return to judgment. He sees in passages of the Apostolical Epistles which rapidly connect these points, (such as Rom. viii. 34; i. 3; 1 Tim. iii. 16, &c.), initial forms of the self-same thing which the creeds and symbols of the early Church exhibit. In their condemnation of the Ebionites who denied the divinity of Christ, and of the Arians who lowered it,—as well as of the Docetæ who denied his humanity,—and of the Apollinarians and others, who either denied its completeness in Him, or the entire presence of both natures in One undivided person,—he sees a consistent well-defined system, extending itself to the various parts of the Saviour’s acts and mediation. And he describes truly, as going beyond this old Church doctrine, (he might truly add, inconsistent with its authoritative definition at Chalcedon), the Lutheran speculations about a *communicatio idiomatum*, or a mutual *περιχώρησις* between the natures themselves as subsisting in Christ⁴. Thus fair and generally true⁵, as well as approving, is Strauss’s representa-

³ Strauss, § 143. Vol. II. p. 721—730.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 730, seq. “Dieses altkirchliche Lehrsystem über die Person und Thätigkeit Christi ging auch in die Bekenntniss-schriften der lutherischen Kirche über, und wurde von den Theologen derselben noch künstlicher ausgebildet.” For these ulterior speculations (involving the doctrine of the omnipresence of Christ’s human body, which however scrupled by Melancthon and the more moderate Lutherans, was zealously asserted by the more admiring partizans of their founder)—he refers to the Formula of Concord, Chemnitz, and others.

⁵ Generally true: for a bare logical conception, without faith, will not secure a man against errors in statements of this nature. Thus e.g. when it is inferred as an essential point of orthodoxy, that the merit of Christ’s obedience to death could not benefit himself, but *only* others, this is what no Catholic Christian has ever inferred from the supreme Deity of his Saviour, when the entire truth of both

tion of the catholic doctrine respecting Christ. And how then does he proceed to refute it⁶? By no other process than by the question "how can these things be?"—by the observation that though one nature subsists alike in several persons of that nature, the notion of one person subsisting in two natures is inadmissible, and that it *cannot be conceived how* two thoroughly different systems of vital condition can concur in one subject⁷; joined to the old difficulty of the monothelite question which agitated the Church, even after the agreement on the other main features of the doctrine⁸. With respect to the agency of Christ our Lord,—distributed into the three heads of Prophet, Priest and King,—he opposes to the possibility of the former the Hegelian determination, that the Eternal *cannot* be thus connected with the world, and interfere with its order;—to the second, certain difficulties about Christ's satisfaction for sin on which the schools differ, but which he despatches by saying that the very notion of one expiating another's sins is a crude and incongruous transfer of lower relations to higher ones;—to the last, that in proportion as the doctrine of each man's retribution after death is admitted, that of Christ's second Advent becomes superfluous⁹! This mass of jejune presumption is all that is brought to demolish the doctrine of the Church: for what is said at the outset of this § 143 (p. 733), relates to the above *communicatio idiomatum*, for which none but Lutherans are answerable. No charge of contradiction lies against any assertion beside this;—the scoffing similitude quoted from Spinoza¹⁰ applying logically only to this, and leaving untouched

natures (as represented in Ps. xlv. 6, 7; Heb. i. 8, 9, &c.) assures him otherwise. See e.g. Chrysost. *Hom. vii. on Philipp.* ii. 9.

⁶ Strauss, Vol. II. p. 734—736.

⁷ "Sei nun Person eine stetige Lebenseinheit, Natur aber der Inbegriff von Gesetzen, nach welchen die Lebenszustände sich verlaufen: so sei nicht zu begreifen, wie so zwei durchaus verschiedene Systeme von Lebenszuständen in einem Mittelpunkt zusammenlaufen können."—This argument from the import of Nature and Person is taken from Schleiermacher's *Glaubenslehre*, whose attempt to undermine on such grounds the doctrine of the Incarnation is characterized by his reviewer, the Hegelian Rosencrantz (from whom Strauss expresses his dissent) as theologically superficial and philologically frivolous: "die theologisch seichte und philologisch kleinlichte Manier, mit welcher Schleiermacher in diesem Lehrstück das Hauptdogma des christlichen Glaubens von der Menschwerdung Gottes zu untergraben sucht."

⁸ On this subject there is much interesting matter in the correspondence between Leibnitz and Bossuet—the former stating the metaphysical difficulty (*Œuvres de Bossuet*, Vol. xxvi. p. 245 and 251), the latter obviating it (p. 291).

⁹ Vol. II. p. 736—739.

¹⁰ Ep. xxi. ad Oldenburg. *Quod quædam ecclesiæ his addunt, quod Deus naturam humanam assumpserit, monui expresse, me, quid dicant, nescire; imo, ut verum*

the catholic doctrine of the one Christ subsisting in the two natures, each with its properties entire and unconfused. For while the same person being in two several capacities the subject of different and even opposite predicates is an unquestionable and even an ordinary possibility,—while, too, the union in one person of the discernible body with the indivisible soul exemplifies it in a higher and more difficult region of metaphysical thought,—the supposed *reductio ad absurdum* tells only on the supposition that such assumption of humanity by the divine Son, as this transcendent mystery of the Incarnation supposes, is impossible *because* it is inconceivable. This so-called philosophical *dictum* is that which is sufficient to deprive the Church of Christ of the certainty of the testimony on which that divine fact is believed, and of all the fulness of comforting and exalting virtue, which by Strauss's own confession has been ever derived from the contemplation of its mystery!

But if the faith of the Church respecting her Lord is

fatear, non minus absurde mihi loqui videntur, quam si quis mihi diceret, quod Circulus naturam Quadrati induerit. This blasphemous passage is quoted merely to shew its inconsequence. The circle and the square are mere modes of extension and mathematical figure; and to assert of either the properties of the other is to contradict that in which its very being consists: the assertion is consequently self-contradicting and utterly absurd, as Spinoza observes. But to prove it to be the same with God becoming man, he must first assume that these are also mere modal terms; in other words, that there is no substantive personality in God that could admit of the Divine Hypostasis taking on himself the attributes of a man. This last is what we believe, on the testimony of God himself (John i.; 1 John i. &c. &c.); and the *ipse dixit* of a teacher who would make of God a mere mode or function of the universe (whether termed *Anima mundi* or not) cannot shake that testimony.

From the mystery of the Incarnation it follows indeed as a necessary consequence (as the Ephesine Council declared), that God was born, and suffered, and died;—though birth of a mother, and suffering, and death cannot belong to the nature of God, but of man only: the unity of person in both natures alone verifying the proposition. But when this *communicatio idiomatum*, true as referred to the one Person of the God-man, is referred to either Nature as subsisting in Him, or to what is proper to that Nature in itself, the similitude of Spinoza then applies. To the Romanist and the Lutheran assertion of Christ's natural body being in several places at once we object, as contradicting the natural properties of a body: and the objection is increased when that, which the former is content to leave as a mysterious exertion of divine omnipotence at each consecration of the elements, is by the latter attempted to be accounted for philosophically on the principle of the *communicatio idiomatum*. This doctrine, however, of necessary ubiquity (equally monstrous in itself, and injurious to the mystery of Christ's real presence in the holy Eucharist) was most stiffly maintained by the old Lutheran schools before the rise of neology. A remarkable proof was evinced by the Tübingen divines at the close of the 16th century excluding from the sacred ministry, and even from communion, the great astronomer Kepler—for denouncing the unscriptural absurdity of this position. See Johann Kepler's *Leben und Werken nach neuerlich aufgefundenen MSS.*—von G. L. C. Freiherrn von Breitschwert. Stuttgart, 1835.

set aside, may not the more enlightened representations of recent Christians abide better our critic's examination? This is the next subject of enquiry¹¹: but the Rationalist Christology of the Wegscheiders, Bretschneiders and Henkes meets from him with a far more rapid and summary dismissal. With the same display of fair and even favourable statement as in the case of orthodoxy, he sets forth the new doctrine of Christ as "the most elevated mortal that ever moved on the face of the earth,"—"a hero in whose destinies Providence has in the highest degree glorified itself,"—according to that simple self-approximating view of his character which it is the boast of Socinians to have substituted for the Church's exhibition of her grand Exemplar. But if Christ has been and has done no more than what is left him by this Rationalistic scheme,—then, as Strauss proceeds forcibly to observe, he is no longer an *object*, or even an *integral part*, of the doctrine which he delivers: he stands in no other relation to Christianity, than as Leibnitz, or Wolfe, or Kant, or Fichte, or Schelling, to the systems of philosophy that respectively bear their names, and in which the person of the founder can have no assigned place: in short, the name of Christ belongs indeed to the history of the religion, but in no true respect whatever to the religion itself. But in this, as he justly remarks, Rationalism stands in open opposition to the Christian faith, which respects Christ as its object, its creator and corner-stone. Consequently it has not performed that which, as a scientific system, it was bound to do: "in its endeavour to bring faith into harmony with science, the very expression of faith is stifled: for a Christ, taken only as a highly distinguished man, makes no difficulty certainly to the conception, but *is not the Christ in whom the Church believes*¹²."

Having thus far acted the part of a champion of Catholic truth against those who in rationalizing would destroy it, Strauss proceeds to examine the Eclectic Christology, as he terms it, of that remarkable man, who having pursued to an uncommon degree the negative process of Rationalism against the Church doctrine, has undertaken to reconstruct the positive

¹¹ Strauss, § 145, p. 739—742.

¹² Strauss, II. p. 742.

Christian faith in a way of his own¹³. How then does the attempt of Schleiermacher to rescue men at the same time from the difficulties of supernaturalism, and the emptiness of the rationalistic school, succeed in the judgment of this apparently like-minded critic? He first states in full the doctrine of the *Glaubenslehre*:—that the certain possession in the Christian community of a means of purification and perfection can be traced to no other source than to its adored Head; that the existence in Christ of this fulness of communicable virtue is the meaning of God being incarnate in his person; and, since this archetypal character, which his Church ever approaches but never fully reaches, pervades every historical event of his life, this is the meaning of the divine and human natures being united in his one person: while the miraculous conception, the supernatural works, the resurrection and ascension of Christ, are believed, if at all, historically only, as read in Scripture, but not as associated with our interior experience. Of this system Strauss pronounces, that though it is the nearest approach possible to the establishment of united divinity and humanity in one personal Christ, it is nevertheless a failure both in respect of science and of faith¹⁴. In respect of faith: because amidst the many particulars in which it is a very inadequate substitute for the Church system, this appears, as he observes, among the most striking, that it excludes from spiritual consideration the resurrection of Christ, the foundation stone of the Christian system, the centre of its cycle of festivals,—and sinks consequently with it the true conception of the Lord's death, as well as of his ascension into heaven. In respect of science—the grand objection against the system is simply that such union of the archetypal and the historical *cannot be*: not only, we are told, because all art, science and ability ought to be united with piety in an archetype, (a condition which the life of Christ cannot supply); but because even in the department of piety, the ideal in an individual historical person cannot be realized without miracle. From this *unscientific* admission, indeed, the rationalist Schleier-

¹³ Strauss, § 146. Vol. II. pp. 742—746.

¹⁴ Strauss, Vol. II. p. 746.

macher did not shrink, inasmuch as in the constitution of the person of Christ he recognized an act of divine creative power. But this limitation to the creation of Christ will not, in Strauss's judgment, heal the rent which such a supposition makes in the scientific view of the world: nor will it remove the metaphysical difficulties which the newest philosophy opposes to the *possibility* of any individual historical person whatever being a model. Neither will Strauss concede the *necessity* of an actual historical model, to effect anything which could not be effected without it,—nor even the impossibility of sinful men or a sinful age originating a good ideal model of themselves! He allows, indeed, the impossibility of such authors depicting a perfect exemplar in its full features: but not of their so sketching it out that an after age, more enlightened, but still favourably disposed towards the light and colouring of the picture, will not be able to detect any blemish in it. These then are the two positions which he opposes to the historic personality and divine origin of our perfect exemplar, when not denying it in any particular to be such: 1. an asserted ability to form such a sketch in an age whose views and prejudices were most crossed by this exemplar,—the age which knew not the Light that visited it, but which, in proportion as it came to know it, was revolutionized by the recognition; 2. an asserted partiality, prohibiting the discovery of imperfection, in ages that have produced Voltaire and Paine and the Wolfenbüttel Fragments. With these exquisitely philosophic theses, however, our author disposes of Schleiermacher¹⁵: who, whatever be his demerits in undermining the only foundation of the truth he would fain

¹⁵ Strauss observes (II. p. 752) that we may hence form a judgment as to the charge brought against Schleiermacher, that his Christ is not a historical but an ideal one. The charge, he observes, "is untrue as applied to Schleiermacher's intention; for he firmly believed (*steif und fest*) that Christ, such as he has constructed him, really lived; but it is true with relation to the historical matter of fact, since such a Christ as his never existed but in idea. In this sense indeed," continues Strauss, "the objection lies yet more strongly against the Church system, since *its* Christ could still less have existed: but with respect to the consequences of the system, the objection strikes Schleiermacher specifically: for whereas, according to the premises of the Church doctrine, a historic Christ was both *possible* and *necessary*,—there is no such necessity, in order to effect that which Schleiermacher leaves to be effected, for any other than an ideal Christ: nor is any such possible, according to the Schleiermacherian principles concerning the relation of God to the world, of the supernatural to the natural."—This remark of our infidel author (which I have compressed, without altering) deserves, on many accounts, the notice of such as may be hesitating between Catholic Christian doctrine and that of

reconstruct if he could, is on this point at least, of the transforming power of the archetypal person of Christ, really orthodox and apostolical.

This therefore being the point at which the preceding research is stated to have "foundered,"—the attempt to hold conjointly the archetypal character in Christ with the historical,—our author most complacently concludes, that "the latter of these two elements falls to the ground as a natural residuum, while the former as a pure sublimate mounts upwards to the ether of the ideal world¹⁶!" Now therefore it becomes his pleasing duty to review a Christology which has actually taken this scientific view of the case: which has considered the Christian exemplar as removed from all individual personality into the meteoric regions of Idealism; proceeding on a principle boldly sketched out by Spinoza—that "to know Christ after the flesh is not the matter necessary for salvation, but to know the Eternal Son of God." An Apostle had indeed said something very like this long before: but to him the Christ—risen and ascended into heaven, and seated in the glory of the Father far above the minor relations of this earth—was still the self-same personal Jesus who on this earth became the source of salvation: he that ascended was he that first descended; he that descended to be born and suffer and die for us is he that ascended on high, that with his Spirit he might fill all things¹⁷. But this mystery of faith is not that which it suits these so-called philosophers to receive. By Spinoza that "eternal Son of God" is no otherwise confessed, than as, antecedently to any personal manifestation in the flesh, the better heathens had partially apprehended him, as well as the ancient people of God, viz. "that Eternal Wisdom of God which manifested itself in all things, but principally in the human mind:" he adds indeed to this, "and most of all in Christ Jesus¹⁸,"—yet rejects from this consideration that per-

the *Glaubenslehre*.—(Rosencrantz, who, in his review of this last work of Schleiermacher, considers his view of the Incarnation as a tortured one (*gequälte*) as well as superficial, unites with him in asserting the archetypal character of Christ. See Strauss, Vol. II. pp. 735, 746.—Michelet, Vol. II. p. 658.)

¹⁶ Strauss, § 147.

¹⁷ 2 Cor. v. 15, 16; Eph. iv. 8, 9.

¹⁸ "Dico ad salutem non esse omnino necesse, Christum secundum carnem noscere: sed de æterno illo Filio Dei, h. e. Dei æterna Sapientia, quæ sese in omnibus rebus, et maxime in mente humana, et omnium maxime in Christo Jesu manifestavit, longe aliter sentiendum." Ep. 21, ad Oldenburg.

sonal clothing in purely human attributes, which differs essentially from all mere communications, and which the Gospel from first to last holds forth as the great display of divine goodness, and the great object of human hope.

The first noticed Christology, which attempts to fill up the impersonal and purely ideal conception thus started by the reviver of Pantheism, is that of the celebrated Immanuel Kant¹⁹. That Philosopher ventured to exclude from his religion "of pure reason" the necessity of supposing an individual man, whose holiness and merit were available for others as well as himself; and to place in his stead an ideal of moral perfection, to which, as seated in the reason, and thence extending its power over the whole man, the mental view should be directed by a moral and not a historical faith. This *ideal* is the Logos, the Son by whom God made all, in whom he loves the world: and though, in a world like the present, it appears that we can no otherwise represent to ourselves this ideal than as embodied in a Man,—a man exhibiting its moral force in the strongest contrast with opposed evil, against the most powerful temptations, to the extremity of suffering and the most ignominious death; we are still desired to remember that the binding and assimilating virtue belongs to the archetype in our pure reason, not in the human example,—which is *never perfectly adequate*,—which may appear variously among men according to circumstances, but to which in no living instance are we warranted in ascribing a supernatural origin. The expiatory sufferings of the Son of God mean only the crucifixion of the flesh or "the old man" in those who realize the divine archetype,—who thus endure the pain which is the desert of sin, in order that "the new man" may be raised to life. To this Kantian view, impersonal as it is, Strauss objects on the ground of faith, as he did to the personal view of Schleiermacher,—that it goes no farther than the death of Christ, and makes no use of his resurrection and ascension, the cheering and animating parts of Christian belief. He extends his objection on the same score to this symbolical Christology, as carried out into the story of the Gospels by De Wette and by Horst; persons who view in the life and history of Jesus Christ, though *fabulous in*

¹⁹ Strauss, Vol. II. pp. 754—757.

every supernatural part, and possibly in many others, yet an eternal power of symbolic truth; so that what to the old believers were holy Facts and Histories, are to us no less holy Fictions,—human nature and the religious impulse remaining exactly the same as before²⁰. On this singular development of “pure reason” Strauss remarks that the objects of Christian faith are divine realities, not empty ideas like these: that it is a miserable exchange to substitute for the assurance of God’s union with humanity the mere prospect of men’s attaining god-like sentiments,—and for the trust in a redemption accomplished by Christ from sin, the bare inculcation of the duty of relieving ourselves from it: equally miserable to turn his view from a reconciled world to an unreconciled, from a blessed to an unblest; instead of peace to present nothing but enmity, with a hope which is fantastic and illusory, there being no natural prospect of these idealities being ever attained or attainable. Thus zealously does our author appear to reason on behalf of Christian faith against these idealists. But then further, as a Hegelian, he urges against them that, according to the newest development of science, to make ideas mere futurities, without anything present to which they relate, is to annihilate them; and to hold the infinite as a remanent something beyond the finite is in fact to terminate it. This philosophy teaches that the infinite consists in the setting forth and re-absorption of the finite,—the idea is realized in the totality of its actual manifestations: that nothing in short, can be, which is not already, and that consequently nothing is to be expected by men in respect of reconciliation with God and attainment of divine sentiments, if this reconciliation and union are not now accomplished.

The two sets of objections to each of the above several systems in succession, on the score of faith and of science respectively, will appear to most readers strangely difficult to reconcile: and the last quoted especially, though capable in part of a good meaning, bears also a most sinister aspect towards the cardinal Christian grace, hope of the unseen. Yet it will be remembered that our author not only professes the entire compatibility of the two views, but promises to the believer what

²⁰ Strauss, Vol. II. pp. 757—761.

shall indemnify him fully for the loss of all that his critical process had destroyed,—the fulness of that trust and consolation in Christ which, though possessed amply, as he acknowledges, by the Church system, is supplied by none of the schemes, whether the rationalistic or eclectic or symbolic, that have subsequently passed under his review. How he performs this promise, the next section will show.

SECTION III.

CHRISTOLOGY OF THE NEW PANTHEISTIC SCHOOL.

2. WHAT IT IS.

THE newest philosophy¹, to which Kant and Schelling afford in this matter but imperfect preludes, teaches that when God is spoken of as a Spirit, it is a necessary consequence of that statement that, so far as man is spirit, *there is no distinction or difference between them*². It bids us view the Infinite God not as without or above the finite, but as comprehended in it,—setting forth all finite existence, nature and the human soul, merely as his own exterior manifestation; from which he ever again in like manner draws them back into unity with himself. “As little as man in his finite capacities and relations possesses *Truth*—so little does God in his pure infinity and spirituality possess *actuality*: but the infinite spirit is then alone *actual* when he shuts himself up in finite spirits, as the finite spirit is then alone *true* when it is immersed in the depth of the Infinite.” On this view of God and nature—which is precisely that of the high Brahmanical theology termed the *Vedant*, or perfection of the Vedas,—is built the Straussian view of the incarnation. God and man are one: religion is the human side of this unity, as revelation is the divine: and it is only by apprehending this unity that man becomes free from the deification of sense and corruption on the one side, or the terror of a legislating God on the other. This Truth, which is the God-man, will, when mankind is ripe for it, be exhibited in a commonly intelligible form as an Individual, embodying both

¹ Strauss, § 148.

² The original of this and all the extraordinary matter that follows may be seen in Strauss, Vol. II. pp. 761—764. “In der neuesten Philosophie.....Antheil zu bekommen.” Compare Appendix D.

properties of truth and actuality; in which sense it may be said of him that he has a divine Father and a human mother. Inasmuch as he is viewed not in himself but as reflected in the divine substance, he is thus divinely sinless and perfect: as man of a divine essence he has power over nature and works miracles; but as God in a human manifestation he is dependent on nature,—subject to its necessities and sufferings, even to the last debt of death. “The God-man himself dies; and shows thereby that it is God with his assumed humanity in real earnest; that he has not disdained to descend to the lowest depth of finite being,—whilst he even from that depth knows how to find a way of return to himself: even when the exinanition is most complete, he can remain identical with himself. Yet more, inasmuch as the God-man as a spirit reflected into its infinity stands contrasted with men as holding their finite state, an opposition and a fight is thence set forth, and the death of the God-man is defined as a violent one by the hands of sinners: whereby to physical distress is added also the moral one of the disgrace and condemnation of transgression. If God thus found his way from heaven to the grave, so must also a way be found for man from the grave to heaven: the death of the Prince of Life is the life of the mortal. Already by his coming into the world as God-man has God shown himself reconciled with the world: but yet more, in that by dying he stripped himself of his natural state, he has shown the way by which he ever carries the reconciliation into effect: viz. by ever remaining identical with himself, throughout the condescension to a natural condition, and the throwing off of this again. Inasmuch as the death of the God-man is only the throwing off of his exinanition (or humiliation), it is in fact an exaltation and return to God: and thus the death is actually followed by the resurrection and ascension to heaven.....And thus also must the Church renew in herself, in a spiritual manner, the main circumstances of the life which he lived outwardly. Finding himself in a natural state, the faithful man must die, like Christ, to the natural,—but inwardly only, as he outwardly: he must suffer himself to be crucified and buried spiritually, as Christ was bodily³, in order that by the removal of the natural state

³ “—and must rise to newness of life, as Christ rose bodily.” Who can fail to desiderate such a clause here? the antithesis being needed equally to complete the

he may be identical with him as Spirit, and be a sharer in Christ's blessedness and dominion."

In these last words, there is (notwithstanding one portentous and most significant omission) much real Christian truth: and if fair words could satisfy the believer, or lull the suspicion that must have been awakened by the unchristian and anti-scriptural premises on which the whole fabric was reared, he might be induced to imagine that Strauss had actually reconstructed, as he professes, something resembling the belief of the Catholic Church in the Redeemer of mankind. But the illusion arising from these fine sounding words, with others quoted from kindred writers on the death and resurrection of the Lord, is soon dissipated⁴:—the apparent identity with Catholicism is even carefully disclaimed, and the mystery of this iniquity displays itself fully and undisguisedly. Nothing he tells us is less to be thought of here than that such an union of the divine and human nature should be realized exclusively in one individual person! "Though I can conceive that the divine Spirit in its exterior and condescending manifestation IS THE HUMAN, and the human spirit in its reflexion into itself, and its elevation above itself, IS THE DIVINE: yet can I not on that account represent to myself how divine and human nature can have made up the distinct yet connected ingredients of one historical person. *Though I see the spirit of humanity in its union with the divine in the*

requisite analogy between Christ and the believer, and to supply that animating consolatory point of religion, the want of which Strauss had made a capital defect in the schemes of Schleiermacher and of Kant. But this view, which pervades the Easter and other offices of the Church, as it pervades the Apostolical Epistles, does not suit our author: it implies a *real* resurrection, as well as a *real* death, of our Lord; and this is the very miraculous point which he presents his "double negation" to evade.

⁴ See Strauss, § 149, entitled *Letztes Dilemma*, particularly these words: "Durch die allgemeinen Sätze von Einheit der göttlichen und menschlichen Natur die Erscheinung einer Person, in welcher diese Einheit auf ausschliessende Weise individuell vorhanden gewesen wäre, nicht im Mindesten denkbarer wird. Wenn ich mir denken kann dass der göttliche Geist in seiner Entäusserung und Erniedrigung der menschliche, und der menschliche in seiner Einkehr in sich und Erhebung über sich der göttliche ist: so kann ich mir desswegen noch nicht vorstellen, wie göttliche und menschliche Natur die verschiedenen und doch verbundenen Bestandtheile einer geschichtlichen Person ausgemacht haben können: wenn ich den Geist der Menschheit in seiner Einheit mit dem göttlichen im Verlauf der Weltgeschichte immer vollständiger als die Macht über die Natur sich bethätigen sehe; so ist dies etwas ganz Anderes, als einen einzelnen Menschen für einzelne willkürliche Handlungen mit solcher Macht ausgerüstet zu denken; vollends aus der Wahrheit, dass die aufgehobene Natürlichkeit das Auferstehen des Geistes sei, wird die leibliche Auferstehung eines Individuums niemals folgen."

course of the world's history ever more perfectly exert itself as might over nature,—yet this is something altogether different from imagining an individual man armed with such might for certain arbitrary transactions. Assuredly from the truth that the removal of the natural being is the resurrection of the spirit, the bodily resurrection of an individual will never follow.” No, truly: we have a *gnosis* here which by assuring us that the resurrection is past already, and perpetually repeating itself, dispenses altogether with faith in the Lord's resurrection: and if the “arbitrary transactions” of the evangelical history were of little account to those who took this enlightened view of things in the Apostolic times⁵, how much less must they be to us,—who in the progress of arts and sciences have seen nature subjected to man in a far more tangible and intelligible manner than by any thing we can conceive to have taken place in Palestine?

Here then we might conceive that we are come to the point so strongly condemned in the Kantian and De Wettian schools, of seeing only idealities in the Gospel, and leaving nothing for faith to rest on. But our author gravely assures us otherwise: he bids us reflect on the prodigious difference between the *future* idealities of those dreaming transcendentalists, and the real *present* operative ideas with which his rich *gnosis* has furnished us. “What,” says he, “shall not the idea of the union of divine and human nature be real in an infinitely higher sense, when I apprehend the whole of humanity as its subject of operation, than when I set apart a particular man as such? Is not the incarnation of God from eternity a truer thing, than one in an exclusive point of time?” Or as he more directly unfolds his meaning afterwards⁶:—“Luther has already set bodily wonders below the spiritual, which are the true high miracles; and shall we by any possibility be more highly interested for a few healings of the sick in Galilee, than for the wonders of the life of mind and the history of the world, for the incredibly increasing dominion of man over nature, for the irresistible might of the Idea, against which ever so great masses of the idealess can oppose no enduring resistance?.....That were

⁵ 2 Tim. ii. 18.

⁶ Vol. II. p. 769.

to contradict to the face the better knowledge of our age, &c. &c." The *Idea*, it is to be remembered, in Hegel's scheme is *God*, the very essence of Deity: and these triumphs of man relate, as it will be clearly seen, to the regions of art and science and civil and ordinary life, instead of being confined to the mere circle of religion,—far less to the "insignificant occurrences" of Capernaum or Jerusalem. Marvellously obstinate must the religious believer be, if with the varied splendour of such superior objects before his eyes, he refuses to answer these questions as this philosopher of the age requires he should, and seek his Gospel in the busy world around him.

This is indeed the sole conclusion admissible by those who bow to the superior enlightenment of the newest German philosophy; a conclusion which it now remains to state as it is drawn out in set dogmatic terms by Strauss himself. The statement is of too extraordinary a character, too apparently incredible to ordinary readers, to be safely represented in adverse pages by other words than his own⁷. "The key to "the whole of Christology is this: that an *idea* instead of "an *individual* is set forth as the subject of the attributes "which are predicated of Christ in the Church doctrine: but "then it is a real idea, not a Kantian or unsubstantial one. "Taken as residing in an *individual* God-man, the proper- "ties and functions which the Church doctrine ascribes to "the Christ are inconsistent and self-contradictory: but in "the idea of the *genus* (or race of men) they harmonize to- "gether. HUMANITY is the union of both natures: it is *the* "God made man, the infinite manifesting itself in the finite, "the finite spirit reminding itself of its infinity: it is the child "of the visible Mother, Nature, and the invisible Father, "Spirit⁸. HUMANITY is the *miracle-worker*; in so far as in

⁷ Vol. II. p. 767.

⁸ This sentence is, in both its parts, thoroughly Indian. In the *Sankhya* or Catalogistic school of philosophy, the Eternal Self-existent and True is termed PURUSHA the Male, and is expressly denied the property of Activity (or what our author terms Wirklichkeit, and opposes to Wahrheit): while the active principle from whose fecundity all the rest of the twenty-four Æons in their Catalogue proceed in order (Intelligence, Individual Consciousness, or the *Ego*, &c.) is the Female, called MULAPRACRITI, or Radical Nature. In the more highly spiritual school, which asserts against the former that all spirits or intelligences are but one, the Eternal, the sole substance of them all, is termed either in the masculine, ATMA, Spirit, (der Geist), or in the neuter, BRAHMA, and is, as such, quiescent. When the universe is evolved from his substance, what combines with his creative power to produce the illusion of diversity from him is the female MAYA, who is

“the course of the history of man Spirit is ever acquiring
 “a more perfect mastery over Nature, both within and with-
 “out, which is subjected as a powerless material to its ac-
 “tivity. HUMANITY is *the sinless one*: inasmuch as the course
 “of its development is a wholly blameless one: pollution
 “ever cleaves to the individual only, but in the genus and
 “its history it is taken away. HUMANITY it is *which dies*
 “*and rises again, and ascends towards heaven*: inasmuch
 “as from the negation of its mere natural state its higher
 “spiritual life is ever proceeding, and from the removal of
 “its finite character as a personal, a national, and a mun-
 “dane spirit, its oneness proceeds with the infinite Spirit of
 “heaven. *Through faith in THIS Christ and especially in*
 “*his death and resurrection is man justified before God*:
 “i.e. the individual man also becomes partaker of this di-
 “vine-human life of the genus at large, solely through the
 “quickenings influence of the idea of humanity in itself; and
 “especially in this momentous circumstance, that the negation
 “of the merely natural or sensual state, which is itself the
 “negation of spirituality, being consequently the negation of
 “a negation, is the only way for man to the true spiritual
 “life.—THIS ALONE is the absolute subject-matter of Christo-
 “logy: the circumstance that this appears bound up in the
 “person and history of an individual [viz. Jesus of Nazareth]
 “belongs only to the historical form of the doctrine.”

Yet more compendiously is this stated at the end of the section⁹. “If we recognize the incarnation, the death, and
 “the resurrection, in which the double negation makes an
 “affirmative, as the eternal cycle, the endless pulse of divine
 “life ever returning into itself, what can be attributed of
 “separate or special import to an individual fact which ex-
 “hibits this process only in a sensible manner? In the out-
 “ward fact our age will be conducted merely to the *idea*,
 “in the individual to the *race at large*, for its Christology:
 “a dogmatic theology, which, in handling the topic of Christ,

identified in the Puranas with PRACRITI or Nature, and termed the Great Mother of the world.

This idea of Male and Female passes with the Indians, as with the Egyptians and Greeks, into mythology. We see it also in the “endless genealogies” of the Valentinians and other Gnostics, and of the Cabbala.

⁹ Vol. II. p. 770.

"rests in him as an individual, is no dogmatic theology but "a sermon."

These strangely impious passages are copied from the third edition of Strauss's work, that of 1838,—omitting what was added in the former editions, but since rejected by himself as untenable. The passages, as they now stand after mature and repeated deliberation, are decided and clear enough: and if they are not intelligible to those whom they concern, it is not certainly from any reserve on the part of the author. But there are two questions which the perusal of this astounding statement necessarily suggests to every thoughtful person who has been disposed to follow it, and which require to be distinctly answered. They are the following:

1. Is any intelligible ground of faith or trust, such as the author promises, contained in the Christology thus dogmatically set forth as the only true and satisfactory one?

2. Is this in truth the substance of the doctrine,—as Strauss here repeatedly affirms,—which is contained (though in a sensible and therefore far inferior form) in the Gospel narrative; or which is suggested by the things narrated, under any conceivable hypothesis respecting the original truth of them, either to contemporaries or to posterity?

There are many to whom the bare enunciation of such a doctrine as the above carries with it its sufficient refutation: and there are others, to whom, while it appears to tremble on the verge of absurdity, its deification of human pursuits, so accordant with the spirit of the age, will seem rather bold and admirable. I hope for the indulgence of the former, and the attention of the latter, class, in the attempt to show at large in the two following sections, that both of these questions can be answered only in the negative. And if this be so,—if the second in particular, in which the sum of the whole matter lies, is virtually relinquished by the author himself,—then surely enough is done to decide the scientific character of Dr Strauss's work. His details may merit to be followed and examined like those of Chubb, or Paine, or any other assailant of the veracity and credit of the evangelists¹⁰:

¹⁰ It is remarkable that, as the old and now generally forgotten deistic writers of England furnished weapons to the earlier German rationalists in the last century,

but considering his work as a whole, with reference to the singularly ambitious pretensions that pervade it, as an elaborate attempt to work out a conclusion of Hegelian scientific theology from a rigid process of Niebuhrian criticism,—to transfer the mythic formations of the first centuries of Roman history to Palestine in the age of the Cæsars, and from the destruction of historical views to build up the only true philosophy of Christianity,—the failure is signal and complete, if, supposing the paradoxical transfer even to prosper in his hands, no such conclusion as he alleges is there traced or traceable. Whether this be the case or not, the reader of this and the following sections is requested to judge.

so now, at the close of his philosophic transcendentalism of infidelity, Strauss can do no better in reply to the many opposing critics of his own nation, than translate from the English a book intended to prove the human Origin of Christianity, which was published in London two years since [1838], but has excited scarcely any attention here. It now appears in Germany under the title, *C. C. Hennel's Untersuchung über den Ursprung des Christenthums. Aus dem Englischen eingeführt von Dr D. F. Strauss*. Stuttgart, 1840. [To this writer Strauss also refers in a Latin letter prefixed to the English Translation of his *Life of Jesus*, which was published in 1846.]

SECTION IV.

INQUIRY, WHETHER THIS CHRISTOLOGY PRESENTS AN INTELLIGIBLE OBJECT OF FAITH, PURSUED FROM THE COMMON SENTIMENT AND TESTIMONY OF MANKIND.

THE question that first occurs respecting the system thus propounded to us, as the only true doctrine of Christ, is that of its intrinsic reasonableness and consistency. With persons who judge of all things by the subjective human idea, it is desirable to begin with this question, though the Christian would rather postpone it to the second. We ask therefore in the first place—Does this doctrine contain that which the author promised, and which neither mere rationalism nor eclecticism, nor the idealism of Kant could give, a real tangible ground of religious faith in Christ?

The direction given in the above extracts is, on the negative side at least, sufficiently intelligible. The believer is not exactly commanded to deny or renounce him whom he has been accustomed to view as the Christ,—but he is told to withdraw his attention as far as possible from the historical adjuncts of that person, and fix them exclusively on the Idea. Thus alone, says the teacher, is perfection attainable: for “Schleiermacher was quite right when he said it struck him that by “speculative insight, as far as the historical person of the “Saviour is concerned, not much more is left to us, than by “the (humanitarian) view of the Ebionites¹.” Well, the be-

¹ (Strauss, II. p. 768.) We read in St Augustine (*Confess.* VII. 25): “Ego autem aliquanto posterius didicisse me fateor, in eo quod *Verbum caro factum est*, quomodo catholica veritas a Photini falsitate dirimatur.” It was after correcting the opposite error (wrongly confounded with orthodoxy by his friend Alypius), that of overlooking the humanity in our Lord’s person with the Apollinarian monophysites, that the acute Augustine confesses to having read the Gospels with no

liever may reply: but may I not still—as Schleiermacher partially appears to have done, as Evangelists and Apostles certainly did,—view the self-same person of our Lord, but in a better light than the bare theatre of this world's history affords for viewing him? May he not be personally beheld by the light which his glorification throws back on all preceding parts of his career, the light which the promised Spirit affords for investing all with a new and more universal application? No: a new mysticism has superseded this old one of the Apostles and Fathers of the Church: you are commanded by your allegiance to the better light of this age to drop the notion of *personality* altogether as a “needless residuum,” and take up an ethereal abstraction in its stead. But, the believer will urge, may not the concrete objectiveness of what Jesus said and did be the best if not the only substratum to my mind of the very ethereal Idea to which you direct me; may not he be the Christ to me so far at least as this? No—Hegel has said it—(let his words be weighed well)²—that though

better than the Photinian, i.e. the merely humanitarian, sense. So far his authority might appear to confirm the remark quoted from Schleiermacher. But it was not certainly by dropping the historic personality that the great Father came to a better mind, but by viewing it more intently with the light of Scripture.

² Strauss, Vol. II. p. 768: “Die sinnliche Geschichte des Individuums, sagt Hegel, ist nur der Ausgangspunkt für den Geist. Indem der Glaube von der sinnlichen Weise anfängt, hat er eine zeitliche Geschichte vor sich: was es für wahr hält, ist äussere gewöhnliche Begebenheit, und die Beglaubigung ist die historische, juristische Weise, ein Factum durch sinnliche Gewissheit und moralische Zuverlässigkeit der Zeugen zu constatiren. Indem nun aber der Geist von diesem Aeusseren Veranlassung nimmt, die Idee der mit Gott einigen Menschheit sich zum Bewusstsein zu bringen, und nun in jener Geschichte die Bewegung dieser Idee anschaut: hat sich der Gegenstand vollkommen verwandelt, ist aus einem sinnlich empirischen zu einem geistigen und göttlichen geworden, der nicht mehr in der Geschichte, sondern in der Philosophie seine Beglaubigung hat. Durch dieses Hinausgehen über die sinnliche Geschichte zur absoluten wird jene als das Wesentliche aufgehoben, zum Untergeordneten herabgesetzt, über welchem die geistige Wahrheit auf eigenem Boden steht, zum fernen Traumbilde, das nur noch in den Vergangenheit, und nicht, wie die Idee, in dem sich schlechthin gegenwärtigen Geiste vorhanden ist.”

There are two other passages of Hegel, even more decisive than the one here quoted by Strauss, to exactly the same effect, quoted in Michelet's *History of the latest German Philosophy*, Vol. II. pp. 650—1, and 653—4. In the former, proceeding from the assertion that Man—not a man, but man at large—is the present God, he carries this into the particulars of Christology quite in Strauss's spirit, but in a more detailed and graphic style. Christ's death, the death of death,—his resurrection manifested to the believing and not to the faithless,—are so mythicized as to drop the substance, making them “no individual, but a divine and eternal history.” It does not depend in any degree on outward testimony: and, as for its records, “*the holy Scriptures may be treated as profane writings:*” for “what the Spirit does is no history:” “it is not past but absolutely present.”—The other passage is from Hegel's *History of Philosophy*, and in the opinion of Michelet, as well as of Strauss, goes quite as far as the latter in denying all *historic* substance to religious truth.

faith may begin in a sensuous manner, and so long as it has its temporal history before it,—its documents and external grounds of credibility,—it is far different “when the spirit has taken occasion from these externals to bring to his consciousness the Idea of God’s oneness with mankind, and manifested the working of *this Idea* in the history. Then the ENTIRE OBJECT IS SHIFTED: from sensuous and empirical it has become spiritual and divine: and it has its credentials *no longer* in history but in philosophy. Through thus passing over the sensible history to the absolute, the former is *abolished* as an essential: it is degraded into a subordinate, over which stands spiritual truth on its own proper (independent) ground,—into a *distant dreamy vision* which has its place now only *in the past*, and not, like the idea, in the spirit ever absolutely present and conversant with it.” The Christians of this new school may here learn their calling: they hear what this lauded possessor of spiritual wisdom proclaims to them: the province of this spirit is not to bring the Lord’s words and works to vivid remembrance, but to commit them to degradation and oblivion;—to put them aside contemptuously as dreamy visions that are past and gone by,—on which it would be foolish, nay improper, to dwell, or to attach the least value to the recollection, when the consciousness of identity with God is once imparted. Such is the declared spirit of Hegelian doctrine: and truly, for reverent and respectful treatment of Jesus Christ and the evangelical history, the master is well worthy of his bold disciple.

Let us suppose the believer to listen to this erratic spirit, to accept these arrogant assertions for demonstrations, and embrace these *verba magistri* literally as Gospel: let us suppose him further to accept as true philosophy the declaration (not very explicable apparently on pantheistic principles) that properties, which would be inconsistent and self-contradictory as applied to an individual God-man, are not at all so when spoken of the human race as such, and declared open to the participation of every individual within it³. Let this plain contradiction pass as

³ The sinking of the individual in the species was urged as an objection against Strauss’s system by a professed Hegelian, Schaller, (who on this, as on a kindred topic—see Appendix C.—has honourably broken from the views of the school) in a treatise entitled *Der historische Christus und die Philosophie*. Strauss answers (ii. 768, not.) by referring to that part of the portentous passage above quoted,

well as it may : but what is then the Idea to which his faith is directed, the "ethereal sublimate," which when gained, the historic "residuum" is to be rejected and trampled under foot ? It is even this. A glorious human race exists, in which the pulse of divine life is ever beating, which is itself the truest efflux and manifestation of divinity,—for ever thrown off from the Infinite and returning into its depth again, as the cycle of finite existences perpetually renews itself : in which continual new victories of mind over matter, of art over nature, are adorning the regions of civil and social and scientific life ; where daily improvements in arts and sciences, in politics, morals, and religion, are ever speeding the whole towards its faultless perfection ; where too, as the elevated soul battles with nature and corruption, yet preserves its identity throughout,—the double negation issuing in a splendid affirmative, when the nature that would quench the spirit is quenched and vanquished by it in turn,—we behold a death indeed, but a death attended with perpetual resurrection and ascension on high, to which the heart of man, that owns no other hope, clings with admiring faith and ardent aspiration. Is it not so ? asks the hierophant of this new-termed Christianity, when he has worked himself to a fervent enthusiasm in the contemplation : 'Is not *this* he that lives and was dead, and behold he is alive for evermore—the ever subsisting, ever improving, the ever young, fresh, and vigorous race of man ?'

Now what will be thought of this substitution by the earnest Christian (to whom the declaration can suggest only a horror at its desperate impiety, and a doubtful prayer for the persons that harbour it, if perchance the thought of their heart may be forgiven them) is not now the question. The matter must be taken up on a somewhat lower ground, when arguing

p. 30, in which each believer, in proportion to his religious development, is represented as sharing in the magnificent predicate of the species. But the difficulty is not removed by a loose declaration like this without adequate meaning : it is only the more plainly inextricable. If the alleged participation be a real one, what then becomes of our author's argument, that the introduction of the species instead of the individual is necessary in order to remove the positive contradiction which the orthodox theory of an individual God-man is said to involve ? Truly, instead of removing, the author's pantheistic scheme will then have multiplied, the alleged contradiction a hundred-thousand-fold. It is clear that the asserted participation is unreal and illusory : its reality would involve a real resurrection, the great point which our author's *double negation* is ever put forward to evade, and which he will descend to any absurdity rather than admit. The contradiction passed over lightly in the text is therefore a real and irremoveable blot in the Straussian theory.

The principle of the question with Christologists such as these : we must ask how the common instinct of humanity,—that which is the divine spirit or god of their system, God's witness in our breasts according to ours,—responds to invitations and hopes like the above. Does it, can it, attach the sentiment of repose and satisfaction to the view of the eternity of a species—ever shifting in its component parts—each member absorbed in his turn, and having no individual resurrection? Is nature an enemy, an enemy from which spiritual emancipation is held out as our true dignity and duty, while yet its physical victory is complete over each individual at death? And is there any approach gained to the desired emancipation,—is any strength or stay to the spirit derived,—from the consideration that science and art are ever mastering nature to *their* purposes,—that man, though individually a victim, is collectively omnipotent,—that “the Idea” is irresistible in its march, and ever triumphs at last? Such is the substance of our hope *in Christ*, if the system unfolded in the preceding extracts is embraced as truth. And we ask not now whether the notion is wise or sublime or holy, but whether it is intelligible: whether the heart of man is so framed by nature, as to conceive trust or satisfaction or support from considerations such as these? Man may, we believe, reconcile himself to any view of his destiny: but the question is whether *these considerations* will reconcile him? Let all experience be interrogated whether their influence is not of an opposite character: to awaken a painfully disquieting sense of the contradiction between man's high faculties and his worm-like destiny: to set him at war with himself and his gravest human pursuits, by demonstrating to him personally the nullity and fruitless vexation of all: to create a dissatisfaction within, which nothing but sensuality on the one side or the whisper of a very different faith on the other, reducing all to harmony with the law of his immortal being, can alleviate or render tolerable. And instead of finding a solace against mortality in the thought of the conquests of human art over nature, is it not rather a relief to turn to the unchanged majesty and beauty of nature from the weary contemplations of human mutability,—from the works ever repeated, ever lost to their authors, of the successive generations of mankind?

We apprehend that men of all characters, to whom these

considerations have been strongly presented, return but one answer to this question: that Lord Byron and St Augustine, the Heathen Sage and the Royal Preacher, speak to the same effect here⁴. However opposite their practical conclusions from it, the fact is attested alike by the pious and the unbelieving, even by the convivial songs that tell of the labours of science and art as proper indeed for beings that had ages of commensurate life before them, but not to be thought of by those whose whole calling is to make the most of their span of fleeting existence. All concur to show that scientific and other labours are then only pursued happily and satisfactorily to the spirit, when combined with true religion and the hope of (not a generic but a personal) immortality.

We know indeed one of old⁵ who sought to raise a lofty and a pleasing strain upon an opposite theme.

Ille quoque ipse, viam qui quondam per mare magnum
Stravit, iterque dedit legionibus ire per altum,
Ac pedibus salsas docuit superare lacunas,
Et contempsit equeis insultans murmura ponti,
Lumine adempto, animam moribundo corpore fudit.

Adde repertoires doctrinarum atque leporum,
Adde Heliconiadum comites; quorum unus Homerus
Sceptra potitus, eadem aliis sopitu' quiete est.

Ipsè Epicurus obît, decurso lumine vitæ,
Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit, et omneis
Restinxit, stellas exortus uti aërius Sol.
Tu vero dubitabis, et indignabere obire?

Proinde, licet quotvis vivendo condere sæcla,
Mors æterna tamen nihilominus illa manebit;
Nec minus ille diu jam non erit, ex hodierno
Lumine qui finem vitæ fecit, et ille
Mensibus atque anneis qui multis occidit ante.

But the object of the Roman poet, as of his Grecian master, was so far coincident with that of the Symposiac philosophy before alluded to, as to be most avowedly exclusive of all higher aims: it excludes as well the paramount desire of human eminence in the several departments he enumerates,—

⁴ Cicero, *Tusc. Disput.* Lib. III. 28: "Theophrastus autem moriens accusasse naturam dicitur, quod cervis et cornicibus vitam diuturnam, quorum id nihil interesset, —hominibus, quorum maxime interfuisset, tam exiguam vitam dedisset: quorum si ætas potuisset esse longinquior, futurum fuisse, ut omnibus perfectis artibus omni doctrina hominum vita erudiretur. Querebatur igitur se tum, cum illa videre cœpisset, extinguî." We read the same in Diogen. Laert. Lib. v. [p. 291], with the addition (most important to our present argument) that the *ἡδέα τοῦ βίου* were regretted by the dying philosopher, as too much sacrificed to these fruitless pursuits.

⁵ [Lucretius, III. 1042.]

(all of them, in Strauss's language, provinces of the divine Spirit in humanity)—as that of religious purification, which his system directly annihilates. His sole professed end is to illustrate the *commoda vitæ*: to instruct men to improve their transitory state by securing in it with prudent circumspection the greatest possible amount of tranquil enjoyment: a rule of life to which indeed his glowing strains are singularly misapplied, but definite and undisguised in its earthliness. It is not so with the men, however plain-spoken, whose doctrines we are now reviewing. In them we find a high Stoical profession of overcoming naturalness and the like—issuing at last in a system, where the views that determine action are no other than those admitted and regarded by the Epicurean. Or rather their high religious language, attaching itself professedly to the Christian mysteries of the incarnation, the atoning death, and the resurrection to immortality, is found to terminate actually in a view of man's nature and destiny, which is no other than that of Diderot and the Encyclopedists.

Such is indeed the Pantheism of those in Christian Germany who idolize the species, and decry (as a Kantian unreality!) all faith in an ulterior world. But those who on heathen ground worked out a pantheistical scheme of contemplation and mental endeavour, whether the Stoics of Greece or the Vedantists of India, had higher thoughts than these. Like Hegel, the Vedantists⁶ identify the spirit that is in man with the Spirit of the Universe: like him they teach that, as by thought man ceases to be a votary of sense and matter, a mere child of "the visible mother Nature," whose illusions involve men in the disquieting and corrupting agitations of varied interests and passions,—so by fixing his mind on that which is alone Eternal and True, he breaks the illusion of the separate *Ego* and *meum*, he becomes identified with the object of his thought and knowledge, the Spirit which is everlasting and unchangeable. The Indian theosophist agrees with our author and his school in considering this as the only true idea of man's immortality, all that is separate and individual being transitory and perishable: but here is the great difference. Instead of in-

⁶ See Appendix D.

structing man, as Strauss does, to find his immortality in that of the never-ending species,—to trace his own perfectibility and godlike being in the continued improvement of the race in knowledge and civilization,—the Gentile sage teaches the highest spiritual votary a more excellent way than this, and far more accordant with the real philosophy of the system. The lower way does indeed suffice, in this heathen judgment, for such as take up with the world as it appears to the undiscerning eye, composed of many separate souls, and varied concerns. Virtuous conduct in these (unreal) relations, joined to worship of the Deity in the several forms in which, in accordance with this imperfect view, he is variously manifested in traditional religion and mythology, will insure its reward in this life, and in successive stages of subsequent being. But the reward is still transitory, as every thing individual must be, and as it has been through all preceding births;—the cycles of mundane existence, whether celestial, terrestrial, or infernal, ever concluding and ever recommencing. But the soul that firmly believes and embraces this doctrine of identity with the Supreme seeks the realization of its blessedness at once; i. e. deliverance from this illusory round of varied being, and absorption into the Supreme Essence. By meditation of the One Eternal and True, the vessel that now holds the soul as a separate individual is broken, and its ethereal fluid merged in the ocean of pure Spirit. The surface of the mind within, that now, through the agitations of nature and passion, reflects a variety of images from the one great object presented to it, is to be reduced to that unruffled state in which it reflects but One; and then the image and the substance are identified. For this purpose all that tells of man's individual condition, his separate subsistence and relations, must be renounced; absolute indifference must be his study, and contemplation his sole business, if eternal liberation be the object pursued.

Now, that this mode of religion is, like the theurgy of the Neo-platonists, pregnant with absurdity and falsehood,—that its total dissevering of contemplation from the duties of our individual and social state is most unsound and mischievous,—is indeed very clear. We, who recognize God as the heavens declare, and as Jesus Christ his Son has fully

revealed him, i.e. as Lord and Ruler of this universe, not as its co-essential soul,—we Christians perceive by that light, not only the practical mistake of those aspirants for divinity, but the spiritual and doctrinal error that animates it. And we contend that the *πρώτου ψεύδους* of this and of all similar heathen systems,—the source of all that is impious and absurd in them (for they have that as the ground of them all which is the opposite to absurd or impious),—is precisely that which it has in common with the Schellings and Hegels of our own time:—I mean the doctrine enunciated nearly in the same terms in Sanscrit as by them in German, that the knowing and the known are identical, that consequently to the perfect Gnostic all worship is merged in self-contemplation. The Brahmanic and other Gentile systems only carry out into individual application that which our present author evades, referring in a vague manner to humanity in general what he will not venture to apply in its fulness to the members of whom humanity is composed⁷: and by making the species, as such, in its progressive improvement in arts and advance to perfection, the subject of that death to the world of sense, that revivification and absorption into the all-pervading God which this theosophy inculcates, he changes its original high tone altogether to that of a worship of the world and of the age. And in this, not only does he fall far below the heathen Pantheism in the consistent following out of its peculiar principles, but in another and a better characteristic, the perception of that eternal truth of which this is after all but a perverted form. The wearisomeness of the vanity to which human nature is now subjected, through the taint of sin and death pervading it,—the desirableness of emancipation from this bondage, an emancipation only attainable through spiritual union with Him

⁷ See particularly the passage in Strauss, § 149: "Though I can reflect that the Divine Spirit . . . is the human, and the human . . . is the divine,—yet can I never represent to myself how the divine and human natures can make up the distinct yet connected ingredients of *one historical person*." Here though the pantheistic premises should require the stress of the negation to be laid on the word *one*, i.e. on *one only* such person—the further reasoning shows the actual stress of the author's conclusion to be transferred to the word *historical*. Thus the burden of what this identifying doctrine requires is conveniently thrown on the species abstractedly considered; and what ought, if these principles be true, to be realized, or at least realizable, in every individual, we find to be realized in fact in none. (Cf. not. 3, p. 35 sup.)

"in whom we live and move and are," who is the only Self-existent and True, the support and essential basis of all other existence,—the necessity, in order to this union, of controlling the manifold illusions of selfish cupidity and passion which prevent our contemplating or approaching Him,—these are momentous verities which the heathen systems really inculcate, and which their pantheism, while it corrupts, does not wholly obscure or destroy. The persuasion that the soul was divine and a part of God (as we may see, e.g. in the *Somnium Scipionis*) had not destroyed the notion of this life as wretched compared with the ulterior blessedness⁸; neither had it extinguished the idea of the personality of the departed; nor that of subjection to the Supreme Being *as a Ruler* who has placed us in this lower scene, or of obedience to His will as the true path of emancipation. And their modes of expression are sometimes such as even the Christian may adopt, to whom the Way, the Truth and the Life is personally presented, and accessible⁹.

We pass from Brahmanism to the rival Indian system of Buddhism. Not only in the Hindu, or in less corrupted Gentile doctrines, may we find a testimony against the hopeless theory of Hegel and Strauss; it may be found also in a system more nearly resembling that of Hegel in some respects, which the revulsion from the exoteric scheme of the Brahmins produced in the East. In tracing upwards from human volition what those hereditary instructors deduced downwards from divine dispensation or attraction, and in acknowledging no higher object of veneration and worship than what is found in the self-developed energies of wisdom and virtue in the ultra-deified sage, whom all *may* resemble, and of whom a series of successive repetitions is to be expected,—the *Buddhist*, while exposed to the charge of atheism from his Brahmanic adversary, still retains a pantheistic semblance in his esoteric religion: and inasmuch as it is in the energy of the spiritual man exclusively that the Divinity according to him is perceived and adored, his system is so far more apparently allied to the Hegelian. Yet in the midst of a style of sentiment

⁸ *It vivunt qui e corporum vinculis tanquam e carcere evolaverunt: vestra vero, quæ dicitur, vita mors est.*

⁹ Vid. e.g. Boeth. *Cons. Philosoph.* Lib. III. metr. 9.

respecting the causes and process of things, which resembles in some respects that of the Epicureans, this philosophy views still the world and its ordinary round of subsistencies as something from which eternal liberation is sought: it speaks here much in the language of the rival Indian system,—a language the most opposed to Epicureanism, and the epicureanized Pantheism of Spinoza. The *nirvāna* of the Buddhist—though the Brahmanists say it is mere annihilation—is shown by the ardour of its ascetics to be something very different in its nature. However absurd and misplaced their methods, the object of search appears the same as that to which the whole Gentile world bears witness as longed for: the deliverance from the bondage of mere physical or sensual existence, and reunion of the soul to God.

Are these then, as Christians deem them, the breathings of the creature longing for deliverance,—in which the fixed sentiment of those who have the first-fruits of the Spirit is anticipated and preluded to, only in less distinctly hopeful tones, by the better spirits of Gentilism¹⁰? Or are we rather to believe our author and other Hegelians telling us, that such sentiments, either in heathens or Christians of a former age, indicate only the gloom or the barbarism that surrounded them; that the objects denounced by them as illusory and disappointing are really divine and satisfactory after all; that the evils of life are cured, and the sting of death removed, by the general improvement of society,—though all ulterior hope is finally banished by the newest philosophy, and though there is no infinite but in the ceaseless repetitions of the finite¹¹? The heathen theologians, whom a metaphysical difficulty had led to adulterate with pantheism the religious sentiments of fallen man obscurely “feeling after” his God, are objects certainly of a very different regard from men who in the very bosom of Christianity set up a hopeless speculation like this. It is with deeper sadness and awe that we apply even to the least misled of the latter class the words in which St Augustine apostrophized one of the former, the

¹⁰ Rom. viii. 19—23.

¹¹ That this is the doctrine of the Hegelian school, and that Göschel in maintaining the contrary, viz. Hegel's belief in the immortality of the soul, i. e. the personal soul of *this* or *that* individual, utterly mistook his master's meaning, is maintained by Michelet, Vol. II. p. 640, seq. of his *History of German Philosophy*.

great Varro: "Anima tua tam docta et ingeniosa, ubi te multum dolemus, per hæc mysteria doctrinæ ad Deum suum—id est, *a quo facta est, non cum quo facta est—nec cujus portio, sed cujus conditio*¹² *est,—nec qui est omnium anima, sed qui fecit omnem animam,—quo solo illustrante fit anima beata, si ejus gratiæ non sit ingrata,—nullo modo potuit pervenire."* [*De Civitate Dei*, Lib. VII. cap. 5.]

Amidst all the striking points of difference between the pantheism of heathen countries and of modern Christian Europe, to the great disadvantage of the latter, some curious points of resemblance may yet be traced between them. Among these is the anti-historical character of the system;—singularly exemplified in the country where the most rigid pantheism has fixed its seat, and where it has actually extinguished regular history, leaving mythicism and abstract philosophy in its place¹³. A corresponding tendency to this would be felt in Europe itself, were it possible for the spirit that animates Hegel¹⁴ and his followers, and their sentiments respecting the individual and the species, to become universal even among their own countrymen. It is one part of this anti-historic tendency, that the human race is conceived and spoken of as if it were eternal, as well on the side of the past as of the future: in a manner which calls to mind the doctrine of the Indian and other Gentile schools respecting the ever recurring Yugas or cycles of human existence¹⁵. The astounding positions respecting the

¹² i. e. *κρίσις*.

¹³ The whole of the ante-Mahometan history of India, comprehending the period of its greatest eminence in art and science, with a highly polished poetical and dramatic literature, is left to be collected from inscriptions, or from the chaos of mythical notices. The only regular histories are found in the extreme North and South, in Cashmere and Ceylon respectively, in both of which Brahmanism has been displaced by Buddhism,—a system in which the pantheistic element, though existing, is far less prominent than the ethical and human.

¹⁴ See the passages quoted from Hegel, p. 34, sup. and note, that from Baur, p. 8, not., &c. &c., all tending to sink the idea of the past in that of a perpetual philosophical present. This spirit and tendency of the "newest philosophy" may have contributed to draw from B. J. Niebuhr, whose genius was eminently historical, that noble testimony against the Pantheism and mythicism of those who have pretended to use his methods for establishing the latter; declaring his strong belief in a personal God, a historical Christ, and the literal verity of the articles of the Creed and of all the great facts of the Bible. See his *Life*, Vol. II. p. 344, or Neander, *Preface to the Life of Jesus Christ*, pp. xxvii, xxviii.

¹⁵ Compare the *Institutes of Menu*, Lib. I. v. 79, 80, seq. with S. Aug. *De Civitate Dei*, Lib. XII. cap. 13—and with the sentiment of Celsus as quoted by Origen, Lib. IV. p. 207, ed. Spencer: *ὅμοια δ' αὖτ' ἀρχῆς ἐς τέλος ἢ τῶν θνητῶν περιόδος: καὶ κατὰ τὰς τεταγμένας ἀνακυκλήσεις ἀνάγκη τὰ αὐτὰ αἰεὶ καὶ γεγονέναι, καὶ εἶναι, καὶ ἔσεσθαι*. This is indeed, as Sir Isaac Newton has indicated, the

human genus which have been quoted from Strauss¹⁶ are evidently far more adapted for an age in which it was esteemed philosophical to consider the series of human generations as eternal, than for the present; where the discoveries of Cuvier have added physical demonstration to what was before the uniform voice of human record and tradition respecting their comparative novelty in the world¹⁷. But however determined by anti-supernatural prepossession to set aside the divine authority of the Mosaic cosmogony,—and however disposed by the anti-historic character of his speculative science to attach little value to the arguments so well stated by the epicurean poet¹⁸ to the same purpose, the recent origin of man,—our author cannot so conveniently despise the scientific evidence of modern geology. And when, in the fervour of his speculation, he classes the notion of the present state of things having a beginning with the belief of angelic and diabolic existence, as something against which high religious development revolts,—as a “dross” yet to be purged from religion, ere we can move in advance of the giant-step towards its liberalization which Jesus had taken long before¹⁹,—it is unfortunate for the credit of this high sounding and ingenious declamation, that the science, which speaks so clearly of a commencement of humanity and its concerns, must come in with our vulgar Christianity for a share in the rebuke.

To conclude the subject now immediately before us, we may confidently anticipate the answer which every religious mind will give to the questions above quoted (page 28), however confidently propounded with an opposite hope by our author. It may seem to him most marvellous how any one can doubt that the union of divine to human nature must be real in a

consequence of substituting an impersonal necessity for an Intelligent Creator and Ruler of the Universe: and that this ceaseless revolution of the finite is the very essence of the infinite is the clear doctrine of Hegel's school, as many of the passages above referred to evince. In Hegel's *Religions Philosophie*, as quoted in the *Freiburg Zeitschrift für Theologie*, Vol. III. p. 307, we read “Das Bestehen des Endlichen muss sich wieder aufheben: so ist denn das endliche Moment des gottlichen Lebens. Ohne Welt ist Gott nicht Gott.” The existence of the finite being necessarily repeated and concluded, the finite is an essential moment of the divine life, like the day and night, the alternate work and repose, of Brahma. “Without the world,” concludes the Pantheist, “God is not God.”

¹⁶ See p. 29, seq. supra.

¹⁷ On this subject see the Earl of Rosse's *Argument to prove the Truth of the Christian Revelation*. Chapters II. and III.

¹⁸ Lucretius, Lib. V. 325—351.

¹⁹ Strauss, Vol. II. pp. 776, 777.

higher sense, when the whole of humanity is its subject, than when restricted to a particular man,—or that the incarnation of God from eternity (!) is a truer thing than one in an exclusive point of time,—or that “a few healings of the sick in Galilee” are “insignificant occurrences” compared with the march of mind, the progress of the Idea, or the triumph over nature by mechanism. Yet whoever has reflected on the great burden that oppresses humanity at all times, and is sensible that the deliverance of the soul from sin is an achievement far beyond the power of the arts, science, and civilization of the best ages of the world, may well pause at least before he adopts such a conclusion. And if he has heard, on authority that bears at least some good marks of credibility, of a remedial virtue exerted by Incarnate Godhead on the earth for the highest needs of man, and that what was once carnally manifested in outward things is now supplied spiritually by means, which Christ’s word and promise sufficiently indicate to faith, he will not need much more than the examination of his own heart and conscience to choose between this statement of his Christian instructors, and the new one here opposed to it. He will turn with disgust from the stranger’s voice which tells him he has this Godhead in and of himself: and which bids him trace its exemplifications in those works and pursuits which, without a better hope and liberation from evil to hallow them, are felt to be mere confusion and vexatious vanity.

This may suffice to repel the pretence of superior *wisdom* in the impugner of a personal Christ. But if the superior *might* of the so-called spiritualities which he alleges be the main inducement offered to the Christian for merging in them his faith and religion, he may remember that twice have these been signally triumphed over by the apparent weakness of the people of God. Once a rude nomadic company, contemptible as they might be deemed by Manetho or by modern admirers of his nation²⁰, burst the bands thrown around them by the gigantic civilization of ancient Egypt;—which now leaves but

²⁰ Champollion in the Introduction, p. xix, to his posthumous *Grammaire Egyptienne*, published by the French Government, says, “Les tribus échappées par la ruse (!) à l’oppression d’un peuple bien plus avancé qu’elles-mêmes dans la civilisation, ne purent, en rentrant dans le désert, se dépouiller en même temps des idées d’ordre, des habitudes civiles, ni oublier les pratiques des arts acquises pendant un séjour prolongé sur les rives du Nil, au milieu d’une nation agricole, &c. &c. &c.” Compare Joseph, *adv. Apion*. Lib. i. c. 25—29.

the sad wreck of monuments with empty names to the wondering beholder, while the cause of those emancipated serfs is interwoven with the sympathetic recollections of the best and the wisest of the human race. And again, in the most extended and powerful empire that the world has ever yet seen, in the period of its greatest strength and illumination, the Cross of an expiring convict became the ensign of a new and unheard of kingdom, a kingdom that subdued its oppressors, and is never to be destroyed. With this double Paschal victory of the Old and New Testament yearly and constantly before the eyes of the Church, it will not avail to talk of the "insignificance"²¹ of any transactions in which her Founder was concerned, or of the weakness of her cause at any time. The conviction of the adversaries themselves must belie their contemptuous words. They who cannot bring their intellects to confess that *the foolishness of God is wiser than men* must discover, in the utter impotence of their endeavours to set up their own speculation on its ruins, that *the weakness of God is stronger*.

²¹ — "unbedeutende Begebnisse." Vid. Strauss, Vol. II. p. 769.

SECTION V.

INQUIRY WHETHER THIS CHRISTOLOGY CAN BE CONNECTED
IN ANY INTELLIGIBLE MANNER WITH THE ACTUAL
LIFE OF JESUS.

HAVING discussed the internal reasonableness and consistency of this doctrine, we have next to examine its coherence with those evangelic narratives, whether they be historical or mythical, from which it has assumed the name of Christology. Here we are instructed at the outset as to the kind and degree of connexion we have to expect: we have seen how Hegel as well as his disciple speaks of the history of Jesus as merely *suggesting* this doctrine; which doctrine being once apprehended, the historical basis—(a basis, it appears, no longer)—should be discarded from view altogether as a bygone dream. There is doubtless good reason for desiring this speedy and total dismissal of the subject from the mind of the initiated learner: and no good reason should appear, if this be true, why the life and acts of the founder of Christianity should be made the *necessary* suggesting ground of a doctrine whose proper seat and subject is so independent of them. Their place, it should seem, might be equally well occupied by the labours of Hercules, or by any other instance of what Strauss calls the might of the spirit triumphing over the dull resistance of sluggish nature, and exhibiting divine power in humanity. Nevertheless, as it is Jesus Christ of Nazareth who gives the name and the occasion to this philosophical theory, and as its propounder does concede to the evangelic story a pre-eminence—an actual, though not a necessary, pre-eminence—in the suggestion and initial building of his edifice, the nature of this relation is forced upon us as a subject of inquiry. We will take Dr

Strauss, therefore, on his own ground : content for the present to enquire whether such connexion as he himself asserts or implies, when he makes this metaphysical theory the conclusion of his critical labour on the Gospel narrative, really subsists, or can intelligibly subsist, between the two.

Here however we have an unsatisfactory circumstance meeting us at the outset : our author in the last two editions of his work having expressed himself very differently on this part of his subject. In the third edition, of 1838, the memorable passage that unfolds the full mystery of his Christology, as quoted p. 29, sup. was followed by the sentence with which our citation closed : "This alone is the absolute subject-matter of Christology ;—the circumstance that this appears bound up in the person and history of an individual belongs only to the historic form of the doctrine." But instead of this short sentence, which tells nothing as to the mode in which the esoteric doctrine has been attached to the narrative as its exoteric form, the second edition, of the preceding year 1837, had the following very explicit paragraph on the subject¹. "This alone is the absolute subject-matter of Christology : the circumstance that this appears bound up in the person and history of an individual has no other subjective ground than this,—that the individual in question, by means of his personality and his destiny, became the occasion of bringing that subject-matter into universal consciousness ; while the degree of spiritual attainment in the ancient world, and in the vulgar perhaps of every time, can contemplate the idea of humanity only in the concrete figure of an individual. In a time of the deepest convulsion, of the greatest bodily and mental suffering, a pure individual, venerated as divinely sent, sinks into suffering and death ; and soon afterwards, the belief in his resurrection forms itself. In such a state of things, the *tua res agitur* must occur to every one : and Christ must appear as the person who, as Clement of Alexandria said in a somewhat different sense², dramatically represented humanity, τὸ δρᾶμα τῆς

¹ Strauss, Vol. II. p. 740 (of the second edition).

² It is not only the application, but the words themselves, that our author has altered here. He has substituted "humanity" for "life" in the passage of St Clement, which is Ἀμέμφως τοίνυν ὑποκρινόμενος τὸ δρᾶμα τοῦ βίου, δπερ ἂν ὁ Θεὸς ἀγωνίσασθαι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ, τὰ τε πρακτέα, τὰ τε ὑπομενετέα γνωρίζει. "Blamelessly acting the drama of life, which God may appoint him to struggle through, he

"*ἀνθρωπότητος ὑπεκρίνετο*. In his sufferings was the external trouble that oppresses humanity concentrated, and the internal represented: there was therefore in his reanimation an encouragement, that in such sufferings the spirit may not lose, but maintain, itself; that in the negation of naturalness not only may it not negative, but in the highest sense affirm, itself. If God has willed his Prophet, yea even his best beloved, and Son, to be given up to such affliction for the sin of men,—then was even this extreme limit of finite existence recognized as a moving principle in the divine life; and man pressed down by trouble and sin may learn to feel himself taken up to divine freedom. As the God of Plato on the contemplation of Ideas framed the world³, so has the Church, as induced by the person and fate of Jesus she sketched out the form of her Christ, unconsciously adumbrated the idea of humanity in its relation to divinity. But," continues our author (though in an uncultivated age a community of troubled Jews in Palestine might commit such a mistake as this,—the identification of the Idea with the individual) "the science of our time can no longer suppress the notion, that regard to an individual belongs only to the temporal and popular form of the doctrine."

It might have been unnecessary, perhaps ungracious, to bring forward a statement which Dr Strauss has on better consideration suppressed, had either his destructive process on the life of Jesus preceding, or his alleged conclusion of hu-

(the intellectual Christian) discerns the things to be done and the things to be endured." *Stromata*, Lib. vii. [p. 530. Edit. 1616.]

³ The remark that as the Platonic deity *purposely* framed the world from his well-digested ideas of perfect order and beauty,—so did the unenlightened Church frame *unawares* its doctrinal fabric of God made man from a few events in Jesus' life, misunderstood and exaggerated,—might recall to the recollection of some an almost equally exquisite *simile of dissimilitude*, which another ingenious writer on the Progress of Man has employed on a different branch of his subject.

Yes! human laws, and laws esteemed divine,

The gen'rous passion straiten and confine.

And as a stream, when art constrains its course,

Pours its fierce torrent with augmented force,

So Passion, narrowed to one channel small,

Unlike the former, does not flow at all.

For Love then only flaps his purple wings,

When uncontroll'd by Priestcraft or by Kings.

Progress of Man, Canto 23.

The form of the Straussian simile, however, is but an exponent of the utter incongruity, historical and philosophical, which pervades this extraordinary passage, and which is pointed out fully in the text.

manity at large being the only real objective Christ, been modified proportionally. But when in a process of argument a certain link or step is withdrawn and replaced by another totally different (inserted in the ensuing chapter), and this without any alteration either in the premises or the conclusion which that link should connect, it may be necessary, in order to ascertain the soundness of the whole system in which this strange circumstance occurs, to subject the old as well as the new link to examination. The probable presumption in this case is, that the withdrawn step was adapted to its place in the process, though found untenable; and that the substituted step, though more tenable in itself, is far less fitted to connect the ruptured parts together. The presumption will be abundantly verified here; on considering on the one hand the paragraph just quoted from the old edition, and on the other the vague and self-conflicting matter which the author has appended to his new edition, in order to supply in a less assailable shape this difficult but most neglected part of his theory, the relation of the actual Jesus to his Christology.

For, in the first place, the passage above quoted, untenable and absurd as it is, was well adapted to its place in the Straussian system, or rather indispensable to it. The whole of his destructive process on the evangelical history consists in converting into *causes* what the Church of Christ recognizes as *effects*. It is not the witnessed miraculous power of Jesus that produced faith in him: but the faith in him, somehow existing before, that created the story of his miracles. It is not the correspondence in the acts and events of his life with ancient predictions that caused his reception by the better Israelites as the promised Christ: but it is a presumption, somehow existing independently, that he must be the Christ, that united with the recollection of those predictions in the people's minds to make up the story of their accomplishment. Such is his process throughout his critical work: the said *somehow*, meanwhile, remaining a mystery which his philosophy cannot penetrate, and accumulating in difficulty and incomprehensibility as he proceeds: since the more the destructive process appears to prosper, the less is left, either intellectually or morally, to the object of his

criticism, to which such transcendent presumptions and prepossessions as the scheme requires could by any possibility be attached. Such is indeed the inevitable course and fate of every attempt at explication which mistakes an effect for a cause⁴. But to this scheme, however, the positions above cited are a necessary corollary or supplement. As it was from the current ideas of the Palestine Jews exciting in their hitherto upright and clear-headed subject a mixture of ambition and fanatic delusion, (for such is Strauss's odious hypothesis respecting his alleged "pure individual"!), that the first conception of Jesus as the Messiah was derived,—so from the ideas of his early followers, subsequent to his death and *imagined* resurrection, arose the contemplation in him of the great mystery of godliness "God manifest in the flesh"—of which our author is now to supply the more general, the only philosophical, conception. Since such, then, must be the assigned origin of Catholic Christian doctrine, in order to suit the whole purpose and scheme of Strauss, here we have the boldly sketched outline of its particulars. The deep distress, bodily and mental, of the time caused these persons to think of the wrongful sufferings of Jesus by the hands of the envious rulers and Pharisees, with the energy of individual application to themselves: while the thought of his resurrection, (a fancied resurrection from the grave!), comforted them with a hope in themselves of similar support and eventual triumph. Hence the belief in the vicarious sufferings, the meritorious sacrifice, the conquest over the grave, the glorification and eternal reign, of their Lord and Redeemer.

But the absurdities of this statement are almost too manifest for express refutation. A time of the deepest bodily and mental distress is the creator of all this fabric! But who are the sufferers? By whom, and wherefore did they suffer? Our author will not pretend that the afflictions endured by the Jewish nation at the hands of the Romans, and issuing in the destruction of their temple and national polity, were the sources of such a persuasion. It must be clear to him that the persons thus afflicted, as they were prompted to their desperate struggle by the hope of a Messiah the

⁴ e.g. Gibbon's mode of accounting for the early progress of Christianity.

most opposite to one who was crucified, so even to the last extremity they invoked any other Deliverer or resource from their misery than this. He must mean of course the flock of Christ—the apostolic Church, persecuted by both Jews and Gentiles: and then in the name of truth and common sense, what was the cause, the sole provocative ground, of *their* sufferings? Can any other be possibly pointed out than their *faith*,—their constant belief and profession before all men that the crucified Jesus was the Christ, that he was risen from the dead, that he was the Son of God and Saviour of the world,—the very faith which this author would persuade us that their sufferings preceded and created?

But is the tendency of faith in the exalted person of the Lord once crucified to animate his followers under their sufferings for his cause, an argument or presumption that the former is a mere product and creation of the latter? Miserable indeed were the condition of humanity, if this were good reasoning in any case;—if what in any instance fell in with its wants, and satisfied its aspirations, were only on that account the more probably an invention of the want which it only pretends to supply. Yet this is Strauss's argument here, and in many other portions—yet unsuppressed—of his work. And if any thing were needed to prove the virtually godless character of the pantheistic system, and that our ancestors of the last and preceding centuries were quite right in classing Spinozism and atheism under the same category, it might be found in the revolting coolness and confidence with which this mode of argument is frequently presented. In § 13 of his Introduction our author desires his readers to call to mind “the powerful religious satisfaction” which the belief in a dead and risen Messiah afforded to “those that felt their need of religion,” as one solid ground for presuming that the resurrection, with other miracles, was the mere offspring of such persons' credulity⁵. To one who recognizes so much of Natural Religion as to believe that God disposes the faculties of man, mental as well as bodily, and provides in both for the wants which he has himself implanted, such an argument could have no weight. And though we allow it to be unsafe and inadmissible to reason *a priori* from

⁵ Strauss, Vol. i. p. 86.

this consideration to establish the truth of a fact or doctrine that consoles,—(because we are insufficient judges of what degree of consolation is best for us, and still more of the precise method which the Almighty may take for imparting it),—yet certainly on the other hand to make it a ground of presumption against a doctrine or alleged fact, that it affords such satisfaction to our highest perceptions, cannot be the deliberate thought of one who believes in a good God ruling the world. After all, it should seem that there is more of similitude than of dissimilitude in the strange comparison above quoted; if only we substitute for the true God recognized by Plato, who forms and disposes all things by an all-perfect will, that impersonal deity, the fast-bound soul of Nature, which alone Spinoza and Strauss acknowledge. The incessant evolutions of unconscious Nature tend, as materialists would persuade men, to bring out at last forms of admirable symmetry and beauty: and just so, as we are to understand, the first Christians, without knowing it, with no thought but that of comforting themselves in trouble, sketched out of their own heads a form of divine perfection in human personality, triumphing over death and opening heaven to mankind.

Happily the repugnance to pure reason is no less manifest in this argument than its inconsistency with any kind of theism. To perceive it fully, it needs but to conceive who the first Christians were, and how related to the alleged fact of their Lord's revivification: their leaders certainly cognizant whether it were true or not, and all unspeakably interested in being assured respecting it: every hope of this world being crossed by their adherence to the crucified Lord, no less than every preceding hope from the expected Christ in those who were Jews, and every preceding notion of divine manifestation and favour in those who were Gentiles. If a man urges imposture in this case, he speaks what is indeed most false, but what is conceivable. We may join issue on this,—we may meet and discuss his arguments. And so perhaps we might, if instead of imposture, he came with any definite and intelligible hypothesis of delusion in twelve or more persons. But here is one who says, "The resurrection is a truth, but a logical truth only, viz. the denial of the sensuality which is the death of the spiritual life: it is this double negation mythicized, which is the true

substance of the doctrine of Christ rising again from the grave: the first Christians having worked themselves into the belief of this (bodily) resurrection in order to console themselves under the persecutions they endured for affirming it:”—and what is to be said to him? The self-destroying circle of the statement, if the pronoun denote the latter bodily resurrection,—and the utter incoherence, if the former or spiritual resurrection be intended,—equally defy all attempt to encounter the case with argument: it is easier to believe almost any miracle than to understand and embrace this. The *prestige* of Napoleon's invincibility might contribute materially to some of his victories: it might even lead to a belief that he was a victor in some instances where he was not: but were a man hence to conclude, that by assuming this *prestige* as a primary fact he accounted sufficiently for the belief in every victory, and to lay it down accordingly that he gained none, the absurdity of such a position would not in the least exceed that of our author. The absurdity is in fact the same of making the strong persuasion of Christ's power in his disciples, and the consoling virtue to them of the mysteries of his humiliation and exaltation, a reason for denying every miraculous work,—and the cardinal miracle of the resurrection most especially, on which alone that persuasion and that consolatory virtue depended for existence.

This statement is, however, now suppressed by the author: nor is it replaced in the last edition by any which, like it and the (yet unsuppressed) refutation of Schleiermacher, attempts to represent the Church as the original delineator and author of the Christ-like attributes in Jesus of Nazareth her founder. And the loss of what our author cannot but have considered as an essential crowning step in his mythicizing process, though it has not so much as modified the daring antichristianism of his pretended conclusion, has in some degree apparently abated the proudly confident tone with which he propounds it. The arrogant passage that described the inculcation of a personal Christ come in the flesh as no dogmatic theology proper for this age, “but a sermon,” remains still unaltered, as it was quoted, p. 31, sup. But all that followed to the end of the work is suppressed⁶,

⁶ Strauss, Vol. II. pp. 743—749 (of the second edition, 1837). The title of this suppressed conclusion is *Verhältniss der Kritisch-speculativen Theologie zur Kirche*. ‘Relation of Critico-speculative Theology to the Church.’

which spoke of the mode of combining such preaching with the true generic Christology; the four methods for this purpose open to scientific theologians who had to deal with the vulgar,—but all involving more or less of mendacity, and therefore in strict morals inadmissible; the consequent inevitable necessity of an approaching collision between popular religion and the enlightenment of the age; and the triumphant claim of superior merit, and truth, and wisdom, for the side of free-speaking, and free-writing. Instead of a discourse which, however pitiable in other respects, is at least creditable to the author's frankness and aversion from all fraud or dissimulation, a widely different and yet larger disquisition is now appended, under the title of *Vermittlungsversuche*, or 'search for conciliation,' respecting the mode in which the historical person of Jesus may be profitably considered by the enlightened Christologist. And here, amidst much that is very abhorrent to the sense of all genuine Christians,—as if the critic feared his reputation for free-thinking and speaking might suffer from this prudent alteration of his parting words,—we see, notwithstanding, some most remarkable concessions. The chief of these I will now give in the author's own words, not garbled nor insulated, but attended with all the explanatory and partially counteracting matter, by which it is carefully qualified in his discourse.

"At the first view," says Dr Strauss, Vol. II. p. 775—"the antithesis of the human and the divine, as it is set forth in every human consciousness, but was present in its strictest form in the consciousness of the people of Israel, was in the self-consciousness of Jesus according to the first three Evangelists resolved into this, that he recognised God as his Father, God's cause as his own, was conscious of perfectly knowing the Father, and resigned his own will to the divine: according to John he spoke expressly of his oneness with the Father, and set himself forth as the visible manifestation of the same: according to both representations, this was not only without pretension, but also was it no mere transient elevation of the mind of Jesus in certain exalted moments, but his whole life; and all his discourses and acts were thoroughly penetrated with this consciousness as with their soul. If religion then is the relation between God and man become vital in the human spirit: thus the steps of the reli-

“gious life ascend from the obscure unconsciousness respecting the difference [of the divine and human], through the ever more self-developing dualization, and the unaccomplished endeavour to compensate for this in natural religion and legal religion, unto the perfect conquest of that duality in the self-recognized spiritual oneness, which is therefore the goal of “religious development”,—the insuperably highest step. This “oneness was ever thus present in Christ: and thus in a religious respect it is for all ages impossible to exceed his attainment; while even in other departments of spiritual life, e. g. in philosophical thought, in the investigation and mastery of Nature, &c. beyond the point of view of his age, whose limited capacities in these respects he shared, he may notwithstanding have been exceeded already, and in future be yet exceeded.”

The earlier parts of this paragraph, as they are here marked in italics, are far more important admissions from Strauss than even the proposition for the sake of which he urges them, viz. that in fact no greater than Jesus is to be hereafter expected in the world. And though we are prevented, as well by the pantheistic adjuncts of this proposition, as by the still retained notion of a generic Christ, from felicitating the author on the excellent meaning which his *marked* words convey, the cause of the omnipotent truth and of religion may be no less felicitated on that account. For while we have here a very just description of the characteristic difference between St John's and the three preceding Gospels, in respect of explicit declaration of the highest truth, we have also an assertion, no less truly than forcibly ex-

⁷ Here we have again, as applied to Jesus Christ, that view of religious development which was noticed in § 3, sup. and which is precisely the same as the Hindu sage Patanjali has scientifically laid down. The *restrained* thoughts (*nirudha*) of him who has attained this spiritual oneness are as far above the *variously directed* thoughts (*vixipta*) of an obedient worshipper of the gods, as these are above the *abject* thoughts (*xipta*) of the votary of passion, or the *mad* thoughts (*mudha*) of the wicked and malignant. The Yoga or ascetic process by which the first and highest state is ascended to from the second of mere obedience, i. e. from what Strauss calls the *gesetzes-religion*, consists, according to the Hindu teacher, of five steps: Faith, Fortitude of endeavour, Recollection, Concentration of mind on one object, and lastly Transcendental knowledge; by which the objective and the subjective Spirit are perceived to be but one. This is the goal (*das Ziel*) of both: for the Yogi of Benares and the philosopher of Tübingen are perfectly agreed in principle, though their *asceticism* is doubtless very different in detail. The question as to which is most consistent with their common principle will be decided by most in favour of the former.

pressed, of the harmony of these several statements,—the most complete negation possible of the thesis which Bretschneider in his *Probabilia*, and some others, would confidently obtrude on the world, that the discourses of the fourth Gospel contradict, or jar in spirit with, those recorded by the more historic Evangelists. Not only is the full concord of the Diatessaron in this principal respect affirmed, but—what is from the author of the *Leben Jesu* yet more remarkable—their joint testimony on this head is referred *wholly* to the objective reality in our Lord's person as its source, not in any degree to the subjective creation of such a character in the minds of his excited followers. These concessions, for such they are, are indeed no more than necessary on the part of the author, in order to avoid the far greater difficulties in which the opposite assertions had involved him; to some of which attention has been already directed. Still they are valuable; enabling us to reason directly on common admitted ground with our author, and those who are disposed to follow him, against the pernicious contradictory matter with which his concessions are accompanied. We need not suppose the author to concede more than he has here stated. He need not have recognized the Apostolical authors of the two extreme Gospels, nor thought more of the immediateness of St Luke's testimony, or of the value of the second Gospel as an echo of the first and third, than he has thought proper to express elsewhere. Neither need he be called into the region of narrative, and its ever-accompanying miracle. Only taking for granted that there is a reality in the person of Jesus and his discourses concerning himself, which we may truly attain through these evangelical sources,—and which we cannot learn with precision elsewhere,—the man who distinctly admits thus much may be invited to consider the questions following.

1. Does not the same precise record of Christ's discourses,—in which we thus find declared his relation to God, his intimacy with his Father's counsels, and identification with his Father's cause,—exhibit this at the same time, and inseparably, as his *peculiar* attribute, viz. that he is the only-begotten, the sole image of the invisible Father ever

presented to man; that every prophet beside him, however divinely commissioned, is of the earth; and he alone among the sons of men is the Lord from heaven,—whom none truly comprehends but the Father only⁸?

2. Do not the same discourses of Christ, when announcing, as they do, a sense in which all the faithful may be one with God, declare ever at the same time, and inseparably, that this is possible only through union with himself; that he, the man Christ Jesus, is the one Mediator, the sole head and representative of humanity in this its reunion with God; and that (as the earlier Gospels unite with the fourth in representing his testimony) no man cometh to the Father but through him,—no man knoweth the Father except the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him⁸?

3. When these documents speak of the development of the perfect humanity in Jesus Christ from infancy to manhood, of his experiencing our trials, and disciplining himself to obedience in act and in suffering,—do they ever speak, as Strauss does in the above passage, of his divine Sonship being the result of this process, or contingently dependent upon it? Is not the testimony of Christ in his historians decidedly the reverse:—that he was the only-begotten Son prior to his birth in this world, that he acknowledged God as peculiarly and mysteriously his Father ere his great human trial began, while yet subject to his earthly guardians,—his character of Son of Man not preceding, but presupposing and superinduced upon, his prior ever-subsisting personality as the Eternal Son of God⁹?

4. When that development is alluded to, which is the exemplar, the only perfect model, of all other human development, is it ever the Indian pantheistic process thus carefully described by Strauss in the above passage,—a process beginning with a duality between the worshipper and the worshipped, which natural and legal religion leave unremoved, but which the true contemplative and gnostic religion at

⁸ Matt. xi. Luke x. John iii. xiv. &c. &c.

⁹ Matt. i. ii. Luke i. ii. John i. iii. &c. &c.

length overcomes and annihilates? Is it not ever in the Christ, the Son, something totally different from this,—in which, amidst the utmost perfection in act and in suffering, the ideas of humanity and divinity are kept ever and to the last separate and distinct from each other¹⁰?

5. Does the evangelical record suggest the least hint of that other department of spiritual life, according to our author's phraseology,—(which he here insinuates, though in contradiction to the professed principles of his criticism, to be the ground of the alleged miracles),—viz. the philosophical investigation of physical causes, and the consequent mastery of nature in this method, by Jesus of Nazareth?

6. Do not the same declarations of Jesus Christ, in which his oneness with the Father and his mediation on behalf of mankind are thus together presented to us, contain also inseparably a declaration that this dispensation of things is *final*;—that none hereafter is to appear with any authoritative character, except in his name, as empowered by the Spirit sent by him from the Father to maintain his mystical body in the world, till he himself shall come again to judgment?

On all these points the belief of Christ's Catholic Church has its warrant, express and reiterated, in the evangelical record: the record on which alone our author pretends to found his assertion respecting him whom he alternately exalts and depreciates. And if this be the case, the separation is complete between his system of Christology and that history of Jesus which he would represent as suggesting and imperfectly exhibiting it. The relation between them is not such as that representation would imply; it is one of irreconcilable contradiction. If our record of that history have even the degree of authenticity which he himself accords to it, the contradiction is manifest: and in proportion as this is received as true, his theory becomes false and antichristian. All therefore that he himself urged in the earlier part of his work against the school of Paulus and the Rationalists,—as most uncritically admitting the event and denying the miracle in

¹⁰ The Gospels, *passim* (præs. Matt. iv. 1—10; Mark xiv. 35, 36; John xii. 27).

the evangelical *narrations*, where the ground of either affirmation or denial is exactly the same for one as for the other,—is surely true in even greater measure against him, who in the evangelical *discourses* drops a part closely bound up with the context of the whole, and founds upon the selected portion an estimate of our Lord's character with which that whole is plainly inconsistent. For if Jesus be not that which the Church asserts, i.e. all which the affirmative of the first two and the last of the above six questions declares him to be, then it cannot be too strongly maintained, (as we, detesting the hypothesis, with sober reverence maintain,) that there is no foundation whatever for the eulogy with which this critic would adorn him as a most excellent and virtuous man. If he were not more than this, as Frederick Schlegel¹¹ has most truly remarked, then is he not even this. Any praise offered to our Lord by an unbeliever must be qualified, if he have any seriousness or consideration of what he says, by the condition expressed by Moses Mendelssohn to Lavater—"had he not claimed the honour of adoration which is due to God only:" an awful exception truly to the mind of a serious Jew, or a serious Deist¹²! Had this author weighed it with the reverence which a belief in God should inspire, and which the pantheistic impiety alone has erased from his mind,—had he considered, with the honesty for which he claims credit, that no lie is of the truth, and no self-exalting delusion of the distempered understanding, such as he has dared to impute to Jesus, can belong to an all-perfect character,—he would have spared his equally untrue and unwelcome praise. He should rather have enquired whether the Church is right, which with St Thomas has ever adored the risen Christ as her Lord and her God, or the multitudes, who on hearing his asserted Divine Majesty took up stones to destroy him as a blasphemer.

¹¹ "Wenn Christus nicht mehr gewesen ist als dieses"—[ein jüdischer Sokrates]—"so war er dann auch nicht dieses." *Philosophie der Geschichte*—Vorlesung 10.

¹² See, in Mendelssohn's life, the correspondence that followed the dedication to him by Lavater of a translation of Bonnet's *Evidences of Christianity*. The words are "Wenn er [Jesus] die Ehre der Anbetung, die dem einigen Jehovah gebührt, nicht angemast hatte."—Compare the excellent work of W. Wilson, republished by Dr [now Bishop] Turton, *On the method of explaining the New Testament by early opinions concerning Christ* [Cambridge, 1838].

The opposition of this so-called Christology to the actual record of the Gospel, and to all possible historical conception of its original subject-matter, has now been shown sufficiently for a full reply to the great question proposed at the head of this section. But much remains that may be usefully adduced in illustration of the same subject: which will be stated in the section following.

SECTION VI.

EXAMINATION OF THE VIEWS OF THIS SYSTEM RESPECTING
CHRISTIANITY AND ITS AUTHOR, AS RELATED TO
OTHER RELIGIONS, AND TO MANKIND AT LARGE.

THE necessity which has impelled Dr Strauss in his last edition to substitute for the supposed triumphs of his abstract Christology, and the prospect of its approaching successful collision with the orthodox religion, an explanatory detail of his views respecting the historical person and character of Jesus, has led, as we have seen, to some interesting developments and some very remarkable concessions. The true notion of these will however be better seen, if we analyse this supplementary character throughout, and see there how, while he finds the maintenance of consistency impossible, and falls perpetually in consequence into a mode of Rationalistic explanation which he had before strongly condemned and refuted, he pays in this, as well as in his concessions, involuntary homage to the truth.

The author commences his "search of conciliation" by stating, that however scientific Christology may require us to ascend above the historic person of Jesus, a certain retrospective regard to him is unavoidable¹. At the head of all finite transactions, and historical ones among the rest, individuals stand as "the subjectivities that realize the substantial" of the Idea: (a sufficiently self-evident proposition, it might be imagined, however strangely expressed, but too great a concession to history to be made without referring to "Hegel's *Philosophy of Law*, § 348, p. 443," for its autho-

¹ Strauss, Vol. II. p. 770 seq.

ritative justification!). It is accordingly by great individuals, or men of eminent genius, that each division of the divine life in humanity, as in art, science, &c., advances to its perfection. The same is consequently true of the province of religion in particular, at least in its monotheistic department (!), where the epochs of each advance are attached to distinct personalities: and the critic has no wish that Christianity should be considered an exception to so universal a rule. According to this view Jesus Christ has his place, not as the King of Saints, but as *primus inter pares*, in the Chapel of the enlightened emperor Alexander Severus, where he stood with Orpheus or Homer as companions; where too *we* may assign to him in his own religious department Moses and also Mohammed (!) for his associates; and where in other departments "he need not disdain the company of Alexander and Cæsar, of Raphael and Mozart."(!) Religion is allowed indeed to be not only higher in excellence, but more peculiarly a manifestation of divinity in humanity, than the other spiritual departments, poetry, painting, music, strategics, &c.—and, Christianity being the most excellent of religions, Christ has here necessarily a pre-eminence among the worthies who in this all-collecting chapel are honoured and worshipped².

But our author's profane and disgusting statement does not stop here³. Though Christ be indeed, as he confesses, the greatest *hitherto* among those who have been "ingenious" creators of religious belief (such as Moses and Mohammed!), there is so far no security, as he remarks, that this supremacy is perpetual; no security but that, as Socrates and Plato have been exceeded by Thales and Parmenides, and Moses on his own religious ground by Christ, so Christ may not have hereafter an equal or even a superior,—“although Christianity expects no other,”—or, as he should rather have

² The reader may possibly wonder how all this accords with our author's censure of the Socinians and Rationalists for taking the very same view of the merits of the founder of Christianity. See page 18, sup. It should seem as if, having accomplished his dogmatic point against them of making the object of his Christology an Idea, he forgets this and the terms of his pretended philosophic Christianity altogether, as soon as he re-descends to the (to him unwelcome) region of actual history: for *Christus*, and not *Jesus*, is the term used by him throughout the revolting passage here noticed.

³ Strauss, Vol. II. p. 772.

said, although Christianity distinctly testifies that no other is possible, and that whosoever appears with any such claim is an Antichrist. The veracity of a founder of religion should seem to be of some moment when stating his claim to moral and spiritual eminence! The man however who ventures to write thus, and who, after labouring to prove the abstract reasonableness of his supposition, then interposes with the generous rescue of his mighty philosophy to remove this "disquieting possibility⁴," as he calls it, from the reader's mind, by arguing that in fact a greater than Jesus is *not* to be expected, retains probably so much of reverence for the sacred name he outrages, as to wish the negative side here true: and there may be more, consequently, of real concern than of sneer in his dubious expression of disquietude. Certainly he has not undertaken to find the apprehended superior or equal in the Arabian false prophet: but whether his criticism or his remanent Christian prepossession is to be thanked for this, admits of little doubt. A writer that not only ranks military skill among the special provinces of the Divine Spirit, and on this ground associates Alexander and Cæsar with the honour and worship due alike to Mohammed and to Jesus Christ,—but who has denied to the last the character of a perfect model on the express ground⁵ that such model should include with religion all departments of the spirit, science, art, &c. and therefore this one among the rest,—who represents our Lord's beneficent works in Galilee⁶ as an insignificant matter compared with the present march of intellect and triumph of the Idea,—and speaks of the assuaging of the storm on the lake of Tiberias⁷ as a mean conquest over the waves in comparison of steam navigation,—such a writer, methinks, is not very consistent with himself, when he makes Mohammed inferior, while comparable, to Jesus, and sets his ever-conquering banner so far below the ignominious cross. On higher grounds also than any which

⁴ "beunruhigende Möglichkeit."

⁵ In the refutation of Schleiermacher, Vol. II. p. 747.

⁶ Vol. II. p. 769.

⁷ Vol. II. p. 189: "In Bezug auf denjenigen Theil der Natur, von welchem hier die Rede ist (viz. in Matt. viii. 23—27) der Kompass, das Dampfschiff, eine ungleich wahre Verwirklichung der Herrschaft des Menschen über dieselbe, als die Beschwichtigung des Meeres durch ein blosses Wort gewesen wäre."

these his own speculations involve, he might be led to a similar conclusion. His sceptical countryman, the author of *Nathan the Wise*, might tell him⁸ “that if Jesus were not “God, then were Mahometanism an improvement on Christianity: since Mohammed has carefully abstained from giving occasion to that idolatry which (on this hypothesis) “the words of Jesus provoke” and have rendered inevitable. If Jesus be not the Only-begotten Son of the Father, the one head and source of salvation, in whom humanity is restored and perfected,—if he be not the one Christ through whose sole person the unction that descended plenarily on him redounds and overflows to the sanctification of all his members,—if he be not, in a word, such that to associate any with him in honour of *the same kind* were a blasphemy,—then is he not worthy to be classed with those whom Strauss joins with him in the heathen emperor’s chapel, nay, not even with Mohammed, the worst by far of them all. For he who predicated all this of himself, as all the records concerning him declare, and as the Church has ever believed on his testimony, cannot, if that testimony be fallacious, be a Socrates or a Plato, or a good man of any description: far less can he deserve that pre-eminence among all such characters, past and future, as this unhappy man thinks to do him honour by assigning him.

It were equally dull and fruitless to attempt following this author in the argumentative process by which he seeks first to elevate to the utmost, and then to remove, the “disquieting possibility” of a greater than Jesus to come. It is enough to say that for the former purpose⁹ the comparative merits of Caesar and Napoleon in strategics, and in poetry of Homer and Sophocles, of Shakespeare and Goethe, are adduced in illustration: while for the latter the author relies most of all¹⁰ (more than on the retrogression of the four ages, the decline of nations, &c.) on the example which the art of *sculpture* affords of a perfection once reached in Greece, but now hopelessly unattainable! But as such considerations are more fitted to amuse an idle reader than to reassure the “disquieted” believer on this article, he

⁸ Lessing’s *Treatise on History and Religion*, as I find it quoted by Mr Robertson, the translator of Schlegel’s *Philosophy of History*, on Lecture 10.

⁹ Strauss, Vol. II. pp. 772, 773.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 774.

turns at length with that view to the religious character of the great subject himself. In this, as exhibited in the four Gospels, he sees truly a penetration of the whole man, his soul, his acts, and his feelings, with the sentiment of devotion,—a self-absorption without interruption and without effort in the idea of union with God, and resignation of his human will to the divine,—which puts every idea of his being surpassed at any future time wholly out of the question. The passage in which this true sentiment is conveyed and enlarged on has received ample attention in the preceding section. Unhappily the truth of this contemplation is soon adulterated, and to a degree beyond what has been already noticed. By a species of revulsion and oscillation, which strongly characterizes this part especially of his work, the author starts off from the conclusion he had expressed respecting the insuperable excellence of this example, and strives to combine the assertion of its high religious perfection with the strange idea that it may be *ever* equalled, though it can *never* be surpassed.

For this purpose he labours to shew¹¹ that perfection is not wholly independent of improvement in other spiritual departments, both of physical and metaphysical knowledge, in which our age has made far greater progress than the age of Jesus. Such complete union of man with God—as we behold in him—could scarcely, says our author, be conceived under a polytheistic system: yet the transition from this to monotheism, it is argued, arises more from the cultivation of the thinking powers and observation of the universe, than from any exaltation of religious feelings. Even in monotheism, there are many things with which the age of Jesus was prepossessed respecting angels, the devil, the creation of the world in time, &c., with which we are told the minds of the illuminated pious are now becoming dissatisfied. When these things are discarded, we may hope that some one or more may arise to carry forward, though not in a higher, yet in a more congenial and suitable manner, the religious improvement which we yet desire. Such however is the “giant step” that Jesus took, such the firm ground which eighteen centuries since he won for the development of piety amongst men, that there is no danger of the future movement being retrograde, or of its bearing a formal, ceremonial character.

¹¹ Strauss, Vol. II. pp. 776, 777.

But whatever, or by whomsoever effected, the advance may be, the first who gives the name to the epoch accomplishes nothing, according to our author, for those who follow him. The second, third, or tenth in the series, who reach a certain degree of excellence, have each the same labour in *that* attainment, and the same consequent religious merit, as the first. And therefore, in the judgment of this champion of internal faith and religion, the cause of piety would greatly suffer if the persuasion were not firmly fixed in every man's mind, that whatever eminence Jesus has attained, is equally attainable by himself:—that such as his Master was, in degree as well as in kind, so may he be,—that the priority is one of position, not of merit,—the superiority consisting simply in this, that an Idea is wont to be more efficacious at its first production, so as to impart to its first recipient somewhat like an archetypal character, but nothing more. The conception of even sinlessness and *absolute* perfection in the first individual must be given up! It must be exchanged for (what indeed a mathematical reader might be inclined to think the same thing) a formation of character in which all obstacles to union with God are repressed to a *vanishing minimum*! But all practical meditation, it seems, is at an inglorious stand, “so long as it is not in a condition to point out some one, who had the spirit and the right to place himself by the side of Jesus¹².”

The confusion and incorrectness of the whole of this argumentative process is no less conspicuous than the revolting irreverence of the conclusion. The position that monotheism, rather than polytheism, is the natural parent of spiritual perfection is indeed most true. But it becomes false when asserted of such religious perfection as is described here by Strauss, i.e. the contemplation which consists in self-identification with the Supreme, and the merging in this of all natural and legal religion¹³. On

¹² See Strauss, Vol. II. pp. 778, 779. The view here taken of our Lord is like that ascribed to Carpocrates by Theodoret, *Hæret. Fab. Compend.* Lib. I. cap. 5: *Τὸν δὲ Κύριον Ἰησοῦν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ καὶ τῆς Μαρίας γεννηθῆναι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις παραπλησίως, ἀρετῇ δὲ αὐτὸν διαπρέψαι, καὶ καθαρὰν ἐσχηκότα ψυχὴν, καὶ μεμνημένην τῆς μετὰ τοῦ Ἀγεννήτου διαγωγῆς· φησὶ δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνῳ παραπλησίως τῶν κοσμοποιοῦν ἀγγέλων καταφρόνησαντας, ὁμοίως λαμβάνειν δύναμιν πρὸς τὸ πράξει τὰ ὅμοια· εἰ δὲ καὶ καθαρωτέραν τις σχολὴ ψυχὴν, ὑπερβήσεται, φησὶ, καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὴν ἀξίαν.* To so great a madness of arrogance (*εἰς τοσαύτην τύφον μανίαν*), adds Theodoret, did these men proceed. Strauss, as we have seen, shrinks from asserting, with the Carpocratians, the possibility of *exceeding*, but insists on that of *equalling*, the Saviour, as essential to practical piety!

¹³ His words are “Schwerlich wird Jemand behaupten wollen, das Höchste in

the contrary, such gnostic perfection were far more to be expected under those deifications of the powers of nature, with which the pantheistic speculations can readily coalesce, and find in them an appropriate mythical drapery, than under a system like that of Israel, by which such identification with the sole object of worship is rigidly proscribed and condemned. As for the moral inferiority of the heathen pantheist, that is indeed evident to Christians. But it is only through the diffused light of principles most opposite to those of our author that this is apparent even to himself. Under the ascendancy of a system like his, annulling the first elements of the Gospel, and all the grounds on which Christian piety and humility and other virtues depend for their life and being, the tone of sentiment would become not better than Stoicism, but much below it. And is he sure that writers of corresponding sentiments in polytheistic lands, were he as familiar with them as with the moralists and metaphysicians of this and the last century in Europe, would appear to him so manifestly inferior? To whom is it, that his accomplished countryman, A. W. Schlegel, addresses the following apostrophe (followed by another of less glowing tenor to his instructor in this branch of letters, and especially to his deceased brother Frederick): "*Te primum Vates sanctissime, Numinisque hypopheta, quisquis tandem inter mortales dictus tu fueris, carminis hujus auctor, cujus oraculis mens ad excelsa quæque, æterna atque divina, cum inenarrabili quadam delectatione rapitur; te primum, inquam, venerabundus salvere jubeo, et vestigia semper adoro*."

The bard thus apostrophised is one, who in the midst of strains concerning the one divine Essence and its spiritual recognition, of which Schelling and Hegel might be proud, adds (lib. xi.) a visible exhibition of all the gods and genii, the sages and celestial serpents with their separate insignia concentrated in the one many-headed Briarean form of Vishnu. As this mythology of the heathen author does not prejudice his gnostic eminence in the eyes of his admiring editor (who exemplifies what he admires by uniting this Indian gymnosophist with his own Christian brother as an object of his invocation and worship), so neither should it prevent our certainly not more scrupulous

der Religion, jene Einheit des Göttlichen und Menschlichen im unmittelbaren Selbstbewusstsein, wäre auch zu erreichen gewesen innerhalb des Polytheismus."

¹⁴ *Bhagavad-Gita*, id est, Θεοπρόιον Μέλος, sive *Almi Krishnæ et Arjune Colloquium de Rebus Divinis*: Sansc. et Lat. A. W. Schlegel, Bonnæ [p. 53, Edit. 1846].

author from acknowledging the entire compatibility of the two. Neither is there any thing in the dreaded formality or ritualism of the heathen that should interfere with this acknowledgment. For it is an established principle of this Gentile theology, that to one who adopts the more excellent mode of direct spiritual contemplation the necessity of sacrificial works and ceremonies is at once done away: to him all distinction of castes, with all their subdivision of duties, is expressly abolished and superseded. In the doctrine that natural religion and legal religion are merged altogether when the spell of duality between the worshipper and the worshipped is broken, Strauss coincides altogether in terms and substance with the theosophist of Brahmanism¹⁵: while both are irreconcilably at variance with the doctrine of Moses and of Christ.

And as our author is thus manifestly wrong in the comparative positions he assigns to polytheism and monotheism, with respect to his own theory of religious perfection, he is no less in error concerning the means by which the transition is effected from the first of these states to the second. This he declares to be the result of intellectual cultivation and improved observation of the natural world, and not of any exaltation of the religious sentiments¹⁶. But accordant as monotheism is with reason, appealing to it and demonstrable from it, yet will our author find it impossible to point out any instance in which such has been the actual process and means of its reception by those who before worshipped many gods. The experience and history of mankind tell uniformly a different story from this: that where men have quenched the natural light afforded them, and, preferring the creature to the Creator, have sunk from their original belief of one God to polytheistic corruptions and idolatries, then no bare cultivation of intellect, or advance in the arts of social and civil life, has been able to bring them back. It has induced scepticism on the one hand, and mystical speculation on the other. It has set men's professions and practice, their institutions and their ideas, at variance with each other. But it has never availed to heal the corruption of manners

¹⁵ See Appendix D.

¹⁶ The sentence last quoted (in not. 13, p. 68) from Strauss, concludes thus: "und doch ist der Fortschritt von diesem [Polytheismus] zum Monotheismus nicht durch eine Erhöhung des Gefühls, sondern durch Schärfung des Denkens und Erweiterung der Weltanschauung herbeigeführt."

which amidst this confusion, and the Epicurean infidelity accompanying it, grows even with the highest civilization. Still less has it ever, by the force of its internal development, procured the suppression of idolatry, and substitution of a purer worship. That change, whenever produced, has ever come from without: and in one of two ways, of which the Christian and Mahometan portions of the world afford separate exemplifications. The revelation, from an obscure province, of God in a new unheard-of character, of God in a crucified man reconciling the world to himself, and calling a peculiar people to be his children and servants, effected this mighty change in the world of ancient civilization: and this after a fierce struggle of wholly patient endurance on the victorious side, by the sole power of an exalting moral conviction. And six centuries after, in the less cultivated regions of Magianism and of grosser idolatries, over some of which an already degenerate and divided Christianity had been partially overspread, the minds of men, weary of interminable fruitless speculation, readily resigned themselves to the severe dogmatism of a short and simple creed, formed out of previous systems by one whose proof of divine mission was the sword, and invested with worldly adjuncts of an attractive kind:—a creed which exhibited the fundamental verities of Natural Religion, wholly divested of the pagan corruptions that confounded the creature and the Creator, but divested also of every thing which in the most corrupt Paganism had borne witness to the Incarnation, to a ground of approach and sympathetic relation to be established between fallen man and his God.

In the room of these known facts in the history of man, Dr Strauss's philosophy frames to itself the pure romance of persons who, by mere intellectual development, have advanced from polytheistic errors to the recognition of one living and true God: and who are moreover in this state indebted solely to themselves for their moral and spiritual progress, without any reference to that divine grace and aid which Mahometanism itself distinctly recognizes as given to the prayer of faith¹⁷; and still less to the one image of God in humanity, as the source of their divine life, which is the vital principle of Christianity. What importance Strauss may attach to the opinion of a few

¹⁷ *Alcoran*, Sur. 1, 48, 62, &c. &c.

Pelagians, we cannot tell: but certainly the sense of all who, from the beginning of the Gospel till now, have illustrated the Christian life in act or in endurance, is most abhorrent from the picture which he has drawn. The high degree of virtue required of them suggests to them no reliance on self-developed powers and ideas, but the oft-repeated prayer of St Augustine, *Da quod jubes et jube quod vis*. Without the light which the incarnation of the Son of God has shed upon the path of humanity, men might indeed find no other means of avoiding acquiescence in the empire of sense and external things than by exalting to the utmost their innate powers of virtuous endeavour: or, as Pascal¹⁸ has embodied this sentiment in examples, they could not avoid Montaigne's conclusions, without adopting the style and sentiments of Epictetus. But the school of Christianity has shewn as well what is true, as what is false, in both these opposed systems. It has taught,—what without this were impossible,—to be sensible of our corruption, and not to acquiesce in it: to be ardently and even heroically virtuous, without self-complacency or self-confidence. This mystery, to the reality of which this argument shews our author to be most insensible, is learnt through Christ, dead and risen—not that ideal phantom of a Christ, which his generic system gives—but Jesus of Nazareth, the Christ of God, who is the Word made flesh, truly crucified in human weakness for the expiation of our sin, and living ever in divine power for our support and revivification.

We have no authority beyond our author's own pages for the existence of pious persons of Pelagian sentiments, to whom not only the supernatural adjuncts in the Christian revelation are an alloy and a scandal that impedes their progress to perfection, but who require, for the animation of their strenuous efforts, to be assured that Jesus Christ is in no true sense their Saviour,—that he has accomplished nothing which they have not to accomplish for themselves, as much as if he had not preceded them,—also that his example is not a sinless one, though confessed to be insuperable by man, and described as the penetration of his whole mind and faculties, without perturbation and without effort, with the sentiment of religious love and devotion. The existence of human beings to whom such considerations and such contradictions as these are a support and

¹⁸ *Pensées de Pascal*, Part I. Art. 11, sur Epictete et Montaigne.

encouragement of piety towards God may be safely set down to the same non-historical region of philosophical myth in which our author has doubtless discovered the conversion of the world to these sentiments from polytheism by the mere force of natural philosophy. If originals in actual life are to be sought for them, may we not safely presume from the anxiety manifested to make out (in almost avowed opposition to the apparent fact) the absence of perfect sinlessness in Christ, that these persons are after all nearer the school of Montaigne than of Epictetus,—that they have more of Epicurean acquiescence in the imperfection we see, than of that aspiration after unseen perfection (that Kantian unreality) which characterized Seneca and the higher spirits of Gentilism? If however the contrary should be the case; if it be not the mental disposition, but a purely intellectual difficulty, that causes this strong reluctance in religious minds to the notion of One living Exemplar and source of all health and perfection,—who can sufficiently characterize the antichristianism of that philosophy, whether coming from Hegel or any more remote source, which thus interposes its dark cloud between the aspiring soul and its only Redeemer?

For the existence of this all perfect exemplar, confessed by Strauss himself, as it is legible in the evangelical narrative, and interpreted in its effect and expression by the Apostles and the whole Church Catholic, remains an immoveable fact against all the purely ideal difficulties of this new anti-christian school. The laboured attempts of Strauss to set up in its stead a generic Christ, with many such as Jesus to embody the Idea, are not more powerful against this rock, than what the Epicurean Celsus scoffingly urged to the Christians fourteen centuries since¹⁹.

¹⁹ Origen, *adv. Celsum*, Lib. vi. (p. 329, ed. Spenc.): 'Ἐξῆς δὲ τοιαυτὰ τινα λέγει ὁ Κέλσος, "Ἐτι μὴν, εἴπερ ἐβούλετο ὁ Θεὸς, ὥσπερ ὁ παρὰ τῷ κωμωδῷ Ζεὺς, ἐκ τοῦ μακροῦ ὕπνου διϋπνίσας ῥύσασθαι τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος ἐκ κακῶν· τί δήποτε εἰς μίαν γωνίαν ἐπεμψε τοῦτο (ὃ φατε) πνεῦμα; δέον πολλὰ ὁμοίως διαφυσῆσαι σώματα, καὶ κατὰ πάσαν ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν οἰκουμένην. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν κωμωδὸς ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ γελωτοποιῶν συνέγραψεν ὅτι Ζεὺς ἐξυπνισθεὶς Ἀθηναίους καὶ Λακεδαιμονίους τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἐπεμψε· σὺ δὲ οὐκ οἶει καταγέλαστον πεποιηκέναι Ἰουδαίους πεμπόμενον τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν υἱόν;" ὅρα δὴ καὶ ἐν τούτοις τὸ ἄσεμνον τοῦ Κέλσου, ἀφιλοσόφως κωμωδίας ποιητὴν γελωτοποιῶν παραλαβόντος, καὶ τῷ παρ' αὐτῷ διϋπνισθέντι πέμποντι Ἑρμῆν παραβάλλοντος τὸν τοῦ παντὸς δημιουργὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν. εἰπομεν δὴ ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων, ὅτι οὐχ ὥσπερ ἀπὸ μακροῦ ὕπνου διαναστὰς ὁ Θεὸς ἐπεμψε τὸν Ἰησοῦν τῷ γένει τῶν ἀνθρώπων, τὴν μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐνσωμάτωσιν οἰκονομίαν νῦν δι' εὐλόγους αἰτίας ἐπικληρώσαντα, αἰεὶ δὲ τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐεργετήσαντα. οὐδὲν γάρ τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις καλῶν γεγέννηται, μὴ τοῦ θείου Λόγου ἐπιδημήσαντος ταῖς ψυχαῖς τῶν κἄν ὀλίγον καιρὸν δεδυνημένων δέξασθαι τὰς τοιάσδε τοῦ θείου Λόγου ἐνεργείας. ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ δοκοῦσα εἰς μίαν γωνίαν ἐπιδημία τοῦ Ἰησοῦ εὐλόγως γεγέννηται· ἐπεὶ περ ἐχρῆν τοῖς

"If God, like Jupiter in the comedy, when awakened from a long sleep, wished to rescue mankind from the evils that had befallen them, why did he send to one corner only of the earth that Spirit of which you speak? when he ought rather to have breathed it equally into many bodies, and sent them through the whole world. The comedian excites laughter in the theatre when he represents Jupiter, awakened from his slumber, sending off Mercury with this errand to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians; and do you not think it ridiculous to have made the Son of God sent only to the Jews?" The answer of Origen to this scoff, though the earlier part as to the indecency of the comparison is irrelevant to our present purpose, is well worthy throughout of the attention of all readers of the modern Pantheistic objections²⁰. "Not, as though roused from long sleep, did God send Jesus to the human race. For though for good reasons it was at that time only that he assumed the œconomy of the Incarnation, he was ever beneficent to mankind. For never was any good done among mortals without the Divine Word inspiring it into the souls of men who were able, though but for a season only, to receive these his ener-

ἐνα Θεὸν μεμαθηκόσι, καὶ τοὺς προφῆτας αὐτοῦ ἀναγινώσκουσι, καὶ κηρυσσόμενον Χριστὸν μαθηθάνουσιν, ἐπιδημήσαι τὸν προφητευόμενον, καὶ ἐπιδημήσαι ἐν καιρῷ, ὅτ' ἔμελλον ἐκχεῖσθαι ἀπὸ μιᾶς γνώμης ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην. διὰ καὶ χρεῖα οὐκ ἦν πολλὰ γενέσθαι πανταχοῦ σώματα, καὶ πολλὰ ἀνάλογον τῷ Ἰησοῦ πνεύματα, ἵνα ἡ πᾶσα τῶν ἀνθρώπων οἰκουμένη φωτισθῇ τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ. ἤρκει γὰρ ὁ εἰς Λόγος, ὡς δικαιοσύνης ἥλιος ἀνατείλας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ἐκπέμψαι τὰς ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν βουλομένων αὐτὸν παραδέξασθαι φθανούσας αὐγὰς· εἰ δὲ καὶ πολλὰ τις ποθεῖ σώματα πεπληρωμένα θελοῦ πνεύματος ἰδεῖν, ἀνάλογον ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἐν Χριστῷ διακονούμενῳ τῇ πανταχοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων σωτηρίᾳ, κατανοεῖτω τοὺς πανταχοῦ ὑγιῶς καὶ μετὰ βίου ὁρθοῦ διδάσκοντας τὸν Ἰησοῦ λόγον, Χριστοὺς καὶ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν θείων γραφῶν καλουμένους ἐν τῷ, Μὴ ἅπτεσθε τῶν χριστῶν μου, καὶ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις μου μὴ πονηρεύεσθε. καὶ γὰρ ὥσπερ ἠκούσαμεν ὅτι Ἀντίχριστος ἔρχεται καὶ οὐδὲν ἤττον μεμαθήκαμεν, ὅτι ἀντίχριστοι πολλοὶ εἰσιν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ὅτι Χριστὸς ἐπιδηδήμηκε γνόντες θεωροῦμεν ὅτι δι' αὐτὸν πολλοὶ χριστοὶ γεγόνασιν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, οἵτινες ἀνάλογον ἐκείνῳ ἡγάπησαν δικαιοσύνην, καὶ ἐμίσησαν ἀδικίαν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔχρισε καὶ αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεός, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἐλαλίω ἀγαλλιάσεως. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν οὖν ὑπὲρ τοὺς μετόχους αὐτοῦ ἀγαπήσας δικαιοσύνην, καὶ μισήσας ἀνομίαν, καὶ τὴν ἀπαρχὴν εἴληφε τοῦ χρίσματος, καὶ (εἰ χρὴ οὕτως ὀνομάσαι) ὄλον τοῦ χρίσματος τοῦ τῆς ἀγαλλιάσεως ἐλαίου· οἱ δὲ μέτοχοι αὐτοῦ, ἕκαστος ὡς κεχώρηκε, μετέσχεον καὶ τοῦ χρίσματος αὐτοῦ. διόπερ, ἐπεὶ Χριστὸς κεφαλὴ ἐστὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ὡς εἶναι ἐν σῶμα Χριστὸν καὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· τὸ μῦρον ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς καταβέβηκεν ἐπὶ τὸν πῶγωνα, τὰ σύμβολα τοῦ τελείου ἀνδρός, Ἀδὰμ, καὶ ἔφθασε καταβαίνειν τοῦτο τὸ μῦρον ἐπὶ τὴν ὡάν τοῦ ἐνδύματος αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα δέ μοι λελεκται πρὸς τὸν ἄσμενον τοῦ Κέλσου λόγον εἰπόντος, Δέον πολλὰ ὁμοίως διαφυσῆσαι σώματα, καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀποστεῖλαι τὴν οἰκουμένην.

²⁰ How entirely Schelling participates in the feeling of this objection, is clear from his thinking that a Hindu alleging his many Incarnations of Vishnu (the second person of the Trinity) had the advantage, in knowledge of religion, over the Christian Missionary who could only tell him of one. *Vorlesungen über die Methode des Academischen Studiums*, pp. 194, 5. The sentiments of Hegel, Baur, and Strauss have been given abundantly already.

gies. But the coming also of Jesus apparently to one corner only, has its reason: since it was there, to those who had received the doctrine of one God, and read his prophets, and learnt the Christ there announced, that it became him who was the object of the prophecy to make his visitation; to visit them at the appointed time when about to be poured forth from that corner over the whole world. Wherefore also there was no need of there being many bodies, and many spirits, like that of Jesus, in order that the whole world might be enlightened with the divine word: *for the One Word sufficed, rising as the Sun of righteousness from Judea, to send forth his beams penetrating to the souls of those who were willing to receive him.* But if any one desires to see many bodies also filled with the Divine Spirit, and like that One Christ ministering to the salvation of men in every place, let him mark those who everywhere teach soundly and with rectitude of life the word of Jesus, who are therefore themselves called *Χριστοὶ* in the holy Scriptures: 'Touch not mine anointed (*my christs*), and do my Prophets no harm.' [Ps. cv. 15.] For as we have heard that one Antichrist is coming, and have learnt nevertheless that there are many antichrists in the world,—in the same manner, knowing that one Christ is come, we behold that through him there are many christs in the world, who after his example have loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; wherefore God, the God of the one Christ, hath anointed them also with the oil of gladness. But he indeed, having *above his fellows* loved righteousness and hated iniquity, both received the first fruits of that chrism himself, and, so to speak, the *whole* anointing of that oil of gladness: but his followers, each as he was capable, partook of his anointing. Therefore since Christ is the head of the Church, insomuch that Christ and the Church are one body, the ointment on the head descended upon the beard of our Aaron, the symbol of the perfect man, and descended even to the skirts of his clothing²¹. So much therefore for the unbecoming taunt of Celsus, that God should have inspired many bodies in like manner, and sent them through the whole world." So far this great Alexandrian doctor: whose voice is here in real accordance with that of the Catholic Church,—testifying to the entire grace which sanctifies humanity being com-

²¹ Ps. xlv. 7, cxxxiii. 2.

prised in the one person of the Divine Word made flesh; of whose fulness, grace for grace, all real members of Christ are made by him participators. Thus, and thus only, do they resemble him, and bear his image upon them: and as he was, so are they in the world.

In the unhallowed attempt to overthrow this foundation, and to substitute humanity in the gross for him who came from heaven to redeem it by his personal participation, our author, reckless as he is, is not without symptoms of occasional mis-giving; which manifest themselves strangely but unequivocally, in the midst of his forced attempts to represent his cause as that of high practical spirituality. We find him indeed here treating the position of a Tübingen contemporary²², that to the establishment of God's kingdom among men one only incarnation of God as man was necessary, as really unworthy of refutation: a form of speech which in Dr Strauss's mouth means just the same as if he had said, that the inconsistency of such a position with the oft repeated dogmata of Hegel is far too evident to need pointing out. But another Catholic doctrine being adduced as a ground of this by a recent author, whose critical and philosophical survey of the evangelical history²³ differs considerably from that of Strauss, leads him to pause for a while in hesitation for a reply, as what could not be dispatched so easily. "According to another course," he observes, "it is in "the fall of man into sin, and the distorted relation in which, "in consequence of this, humanity stands to its own proper idea, "that we are to seek for a reason, why the human race could "find once only, or in one only individual, that which is its "true archetype, the perfect exhibition of the personality of the "Divine Word in the form of a creature-personality²⁴." How then does our author dispose of this statement, which may be understood as that not only of Weisse, to whom he refers, but of the Church Universal and the entire record of Christianity? He does it in the following singular style,—the above sentence

²² *Kern-Hauptthatsachen.* See Strauss, Vol. II. p. 777.

²³ *Die Evangelische Geschichte kritische und philosophische bearbeitet von Dr Chr. Hermann Weisse* (Leipsic, 1838).—Weisse is one of those whom Michelet in his *History* (Vol. II. pp. 629 and 633 seq.) calls Pseudo-Hegelians, and to whom he profanely applies the sentence that "many are called but few chosen," having once attached himself to the school, but broken from it before Hegel's death on the great point of the Idea of the Godhead. Though clear of the worst points of this godless philosophy, he is perhaps not free from all its influences.

²⁴ p. 778.

proceeding without interruption thus: "but then the further "prosecution of this thought leaves the case as dark as at the "commencement: and the whole hangs, as it were, in mid-air "by means of a connexion with a certain fall into sin, considered as a fact of self-inculpation to the human race, which "must therefore have been such as to be even possibly avoided. "Obviously, therefore, there is even with this averment its "own peculiar difficulty: but in fact one is here tormenting "one's-self with dreams, and fighting with shadows on every side, "inasmuch as the discourse is in truth throughout of no actual "given experience, but only of abstract possibilities. With "such like subtleties of the understanding religion need as little "concern herself, as a reasonable man would suffer himself to "be terrified by the calculation of the possibility of the earth's "collision with a comet crossing its orbit." The attention of the sagacious reader need scarcely be directed to the singular style of argumentation, by which the alleged reality of the Fall and the Incarnation is taken out of the province of testimony, human or divine, and transferred to that of the "subtilizing understanding;" converted first into a mere possibility (on the ground, that *antecedently to the event* the avoidance of sin were to a responsible free agent as possible at least as its commission), and then again, as if that were exactly the same thing, into a possibility of which the chance is infinitesimally small²⁵. But putting this aside, which is only a glaring instance of the anti-historical character of this philosophy, the sentiment indicated in the above passage is most remarkable! Doubtless the fall of man is an awful object of thought: but what thinks our author of the "actual given experience" of crime and guilt in human affairs,—nay, of that universal power of sin, without which his own assertions of the spiritual man battling with naturalness, within and without, are contradictory and unintelligible? And if sin be so fearful, yet so undeniable, the news of a God incarnate, born into the world expressly for its repression and destruction,—that to which believers have ever attached the name of ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ, "glad tidings,"—need not, we might imagine, be thus dreaded. It need not, surely, when apprehended as a

²⁵ By precisely the same process of argument, starting from the same point of the *liberum arbitrium*, might we not prove to the friends of any convicted felon at the Old Bailey, that to be solicitous about procuring the reversing of his sentence were as unreasonable as to trouble themselves about collision with a comet?

bare possibility, be described by one who loves his kind and himself under such images of uneasiness and terror as he has here accumulated, to exhort the reader not to think about it. Perhaps however it occurred to Dr Strauss that, were this true, a niche in Alexander Severus's chapel, though it were even a foremost niche, with Orpheus, Cæsar, Mohammed, and others, as his inferior associates in the same honour, was not a fitting place for the One Divine Saviour of men: that, were this true, it were indeed grievous impiety for one bearing his name as a professed baptized disciple, to offer him this with a host of yet greater indignities, under the most insulting of all forms, that of praise. It might occur to him that, were this true, to exert every natural and acquired talent, for the purpose of banishing from men's minds all belief in the person and acts of their Divine Redeemer, and destroying with this the very elements of their holiness and their hope, were a great and fearful crime. On this view we may well understand why the possibility should be dreaded, and therefore willingly represented as infinitesimal and evanescent, far below the apprehension of a reasonable man: since otherwise the feeling of a guilty community at a celestial visitant fast approaching, to dash them and their works to destruction, would be no more than its reasonable consequence. 'Ο πεσῶν ἐπ' ἐκείνουν τὸν ΛΙΘΟΝ συνθλασθήσεται. ἐφ' ὃν δ' ἂν πέσῃ, λικμήσει αὐτόν²⁶. Is this a correct interpretation of the extraordinary specimen of reasoning and sentiment that has been just quoted? It were the best charity to our author to hope it: and that, looking the dreaded contingency in the face, he would ask himself whether the elements of the orbit of human existence have been so surely calculated and fixed by his Hegelian philosophy, as to put these alleged *facts* of the Fall of man, his Redemption and future judgment by Jesus Christ, into the class of things which indeed *may be*, but whose chance is so small as to be safely discarded from practical speculation.

A more confident assertion,—that of absolute impossibility,—is wont to be made by our author against this revelation in its totality, on the ground of its miraculous contents. And to this, as the sole preliminary question that now remains before entering into the details of his objection to the history of the Incarnation, I would direct attention in the following section.

SECTION VII.

VIEWS RESPECTING THE INCREDIBILITY OF MIRACLES AND OF THE EXISTENCE OF ANGELS, GOOD AND EVIL.

THE principle to which, amidst all inconsistencies of his speculation on other points, Strauss adheres constantly and invariably, is that the phenomena of Christianity must be explained in some manner without the admission of miracle. At the outset he had recognized fully with Schleiermacher¹, that in the evangelical narratives "to explain away the miraculous is always fruitless;" and peculiarly unsatisfactory and abortive, when, as in the example there considered (of Zacharias's vision), circumstances must be gratuitously inserted for that purpose, that are alien from the whole spirit of the narrative on which alone we have to found our judgment. And therefore, like Schleiermacher, in that instance, he had recourse to the notion of mythical narrative; which he resolves further to carry unsparingly through the whole Gospel, to the entire supersession of the historical and naturalistic explanations of Paulus and his school². And when foiled in this, as we have seen, so far as to be forced to recognize *something* historical, he will much rather take up the explanations of Paulus that he had exploded, than admit what is miraculous. *The miracle is impossible*—is an axiom that stands with him above all criticism and all considerations of testimony.

If we ask for the proof of the unerring certainty of a principle, which has so ill evinced its truth, by leading its assertor to

¹ *Critical Essay on St Luke*, p. 27 (English translation).

² Even in the earlier part of his work, Strauss had not been able to adhere consistently to the principle, that he had so sharply asserted in theory against the old Rationalists. The instances in which he has there himself attempted historical and rationalistic explanations are enumerated by Professor Tholuck in pp. 81, 82 of his *Credibility of the Evangelical History*.

such manifest incongruities and contradictions as we have witnessed in him, the reference is to the better intelligence of our time; in which though there are many, as he confesses, to whom this perception is wanting³, yet is it so general in the philosophico-religious world, that it were rebellion against our superior enlightenment to doubt it. One main reason for slighting the "healings of the sick in Galilee" in comparison with the modern march of mind and invention is that in the latter we perceive, or at least presume throughout, the naturalness of the process, which, as it is almost despairingly announced, we cannot do in the other⁴. For this boast of our time we are then referred to Schleiermacher, saying that the interests of piety can no longer acknowledge the need of thus surveying the facts of religion: "as though the divine omnipotence were more displayed in the interruption, than in the orderly continuance, of the course of nature."

Now with respect to the omnipotence of God, as really no more exerted in the most extraordinary than in the most ordinary work, we have no wish in the least to dispute this remark of the translator of Plato. But that we may not be deceived by mere words into the tacit admission of a corollary which this true proposition will never support, respecting the incredibility of the divine omnipotence being exerted otherwise than in one only course and method, let the question be first propounded, What is meant by the orderly course of nature? Does it include, with inanimate nature, the arbitrary acts of sentient and intelligent beings, or does it not?

If it does,—then is it a mere *petitio principii* to speak of miracles as an incredible disturbance of this order, or indeed as any disturbance at all. The course of nature, in this extensive but true acceptation, can be known only by experience: and we have no collateral experience, as Bishop Butler has shewn (*Analogy*, Part II. Chap. 2)—we can have none—respecting the

³ These are the author's words on the subject, Vol. I. p. 86, in which he claims this as a first principle: "Es gibt überhaupt kein rein historisches Bewusstsein ohne die Einsicht in die Unzerreissbarkeit der Kette endlicher Ursachen und in die Unmöglichkeit des Wunders: diese Einsicht aber, welche so Vielen in unsrer Zeit noch fehlt, war noch weniger zu jener Zeit in Palästina oder überhaupt im römischen Reiche in grösseren Kreisen vorhanden."

⁴ Strauss, Vol. II. p. 769.

How Schleiermacher was obliged to abandon his own principles on this point when attempting to reconstruct anything like Christianity, may be seen, sup. p. 20, not. 15.

history of moral and intellectual beings and the process of God's dealing with respect to them, which is sufficient to warrant our asserting that what we call miracles may not be an ordinary recognized part of the process, however less common than others: as certain convulsions of nature are a true, though a less common, element in the order of the physical world. There is nothing in our experience on which we can build the notion of interruption of order and harmony: or raise the least antecedent presumption against an asserted divine miracle on this ground.

But if the course of nature be understood in the more restricted sense,—i. e. the course of inanimate nature according to certain physical laws which the process of philosophical discovery is ever enabling us to ascertain and classify more completely,—then indeed is every miracle an interference with that order: not by any means *necessarily* an interruption of it in its own energies, (or what is called suspension of its laws), but an introduction into its sphere of an operation extrinsecal to it and so controlling it. But ere we consider every miracle as on this ground absolutely improbable and incredible, let the following considerations be first seriously weighed and examined.

1. Is not every agency of pure will over matter, whether proceeding from an intellectual or a merely animal and sentient being,—the hurling of a stone into the air, for instance,—a real positive interference, in this very sense, with the order and course of nature? For, though involving no suspension of its laws, even for an instant, is it not an interruption of its regular course by a power extraneous to it, and irreducible to any calculation of causes why it should be exerted or withheld?

2. When such agency proceeds from a being whose mode of existence and action is uncomprehended by the being who witnesses the effect, (as all living creatures seem uncomprehended by those far below them in the scale of nature, e. g. the builder or navigator of a ship by the insect that inhabits it,) is not the effect to this latter (in the ordinary sense) a miracle,—i. e. a miracle in the same sense as the sight of a stone thrown up into the air would be to us, were the projector absolutely invisible?

Now there is One Being certainly, whose mode of existence is to us far more incomprehensible than ours to the lowest

object of the sentient creation: nor can we on any natural grounds be certainly persuaded of the non-existence of higher orders of created beings, whose range of existence and operation may include or cross our own, as ours invades that of the beasts of the forest or the fishes of the sea. When these considerations are pursued with that sense of human ignorance of which no reflecting person is destitute, the conclusion will approve itself to abstract reason, which the history of the world and of human opinion amply confirms: viz. that to the indistinct apprehensions of superstition (or *δεισιδαιμονία*) on this head the sole adequate remedy is in the facts which the true religion supplies. Natural theology does something here, but not enough, even with all the large contributions with which the science of recent times has enriched it. It demonstrates indeed an absolute unity of design in every part of the universe, and that design most admirable and beneficent throughout. It thus effectually removes the worst suspicion, that of a rival creator, or a hostile administration of the world. But as it tells nothing respecting the fearful element of sin in mankind, so has it no assurance that this disturbing element may not probably extend higher in the moral creation;—that much of evil and mischief may in this way exist, which the Most High may allow equally with many appalling things in our lower sphere of observation. But revelation supplies this as well as other defects of natural light to the believer in its testimony. It tells enough, without satiating mere curiosity, of our relation both to the good and the evil among the created intelligences above our own, to make this a ground of far greater encouragement than uneasiness to those who love God: and without denying to those agents, as late systematizers of its doctrine and evidence have too hastily done⁵,

⁵ Hugh Farmer [*Dissertation on Miracles*, 1771] was led to his opinion on this subject, in which others now better known have followed him, by an unsafe and precipitate desire to simplify the evidence of religion; and has met recently with able censors in Mr Penrose [*On the Use of Miracles*, 1824] and Mr Le Bas. The discussion, however, is much older than this in England. Fleetwood, afterwards Bishop of Ely, taught, in a treatise on this subject, that it was impossible for true miracles, or works undistinguishable from true miracles, to be worked by any other than God, and (like Dr Chalmers since) that we are never in a position to judge of the miracle by the doctrine, but only the converse. These positions were justly excepted against at the time by Hoadley (not usually an advocate of primitive truth), but who here proved that Scripture and antiquity and reason taught otherwise, in *A Letter to the Rev. Mr Fleetwood concerning Miracles*, first published in 1702. The school divines, who maintain a miracle to be the exclusive prerogative of God, uniformly define the word in a much higher sense than the above; and as uniformly allow to all beings above the sphere of humanity the lower sense

the power of miracle-working,—even in that general sense of the word by which it means the production of phænomena inexplicable either by physical laws, or by any voluntary agency within our entire comprehension,—it defines quite sufficiently for our guidance and satisfaction the limits within which such power must be exercised. It leaves the faithful person in no apprehension of mistaking an agency of which the application to evil is distinctly represented as possible, and the omnipotent agency of Him to whom all the powers of nature are personally referred, who alone can give health to the distempered, and life to the dead.

This view of things, which is that of the Christian Church, has been satisfactory to the highest intellects, no less under (what we term in England) the modern, than the ancient, habits of philosophizing. That the Almighty should accredit his human messengers to other men by manifestations of his power exceeding that of all men or supposed rival spirits, and thus give, as occasion required, a sign (תֹּאֵי, σημεῖον) in which his omnipotent power, in conjunction with his moral attributes, might be apprehended by his creatures, when estranged and ignorant, is a conception that approves itself to the most *empirical* habits of thought and reasoning: while the most *contemplative* will not be induced to question its reasonableness by the sophism that such departure from the usual course is an impeachment of the divine immutability; not, at least, so long as God is conceived as a personal agent, and the relation of the Eternal to his reasonable offspring as necessarily varying with the finite party. The most philosophical Christian has ever, without difficulty, traced in these signs, but in the miracles of Christ most of all, the present power and majesty and restoring goodness of God: and submitted to the guidance, which the communication of such power from God and Christ has once accredited, as the direction of Him, whose utmost variety of operation impeaches not in the least the perfect Unity and unchangeableness of His being. A new race of men has however arisen,—the Spinozas and Strausses of these last times,—who tell us that all this is wrong and unphilosophical: that God has no personal existence or agency upon or above the world; that

of miraculous power. (So Aquinás, *Summa Theol.* p. I, q. 110, Art. 4.) There is much curious matter on this head in Cudworth, Ch. IV. pp. 706—709.

the visible world is all,—that it is the body of which God is the soul, in which he is immanent, and in which he operates, and can operate only as we commonly experience. What man or beast or the meanest reptile can do in exerting a moving will in counteraction to the gravitating impulses to which inanimate matter is subjected, this is, it seems, impossible to that Infinite Spirit in which all these live and move and have their being. “Mankind is the miracle-worker,” says our author. He is ever subjecting nature to himself by steam-vessels, rail-roads, and the like. But as to the *Anima Mundi*, the Universal Spirit, it were quite absurd to ascribe to this any will and operation—otherwise than as physical laws work, or human wills interfere with them.

Is this an unjust statement of the sentiment of those who coolly maintain that a Miracle is impossible to God? The ever repeated axiom of their philosophy, that the subjective thought is the very essence of things, leads them, as they imagine, demonstrably to this which all Christians, and all Theists, must deem most absurd as well as impious. When, to give force to their axioms, the *verba magistri* are sounded in our ears in a style strongly reminding us of the heathen days in which the founders of schools were deified by their followers, and all this is accompanied perpetually with appeals to the superior intelligence of our age and society, it should seem that the confidence of these men is reposed in other things besides the mere strength of their arguments. It might be well for those who hear such appeals to consider, whether in yielding to them they may not be embracing, under the name of philosophy, one of the basest of the *idola specus* by which scientific error is engendered. For, amidst the manifold improvements and developments of our time, who will say that any fresh light has been thrown on the antecedent probabilities of revelation, or the methods which the Almighty might, or might not, pursue in imparting it? On this, however men may delude themselves, like most of the schoolmen, with mere terms, no step is gained by mere reasoning without data: and our age has discovered, it can discover, nothing. Our best course will be found at last to revert to the sound maxim, that in the things of God *Fides præcedit intellectum*: the maxim which,—however derided by these writers under the name of “the religious point of view, *quand*

même," or as an appeal to faith which at once does away with the character of philosophy in the man that makes it⁶,—does in fact stand connected with the highest intellectual development of modern Europe. And we may predict its endurance long after Hegel shall have been thrust aside by more favoured and more recent competitors, as Kant, and Fichte, and Schelling have been already. Meanwhile the sagacious Christian will ask, where is the authority which is to prevail over that of the Universal Church; and where is even the wisdom so apparently superior to that of the great men who have submitted their philosophy to the miraculous story of Christianity? It cannot be said to be found in men whose reasonings against Jesus Christ and his religion are little more, when stripped of their verbiage, than what the Apostle expressed for them long ago, "Where is the promise of his coming? For since the fathers fell asleep, *all things continue as they were from the beginning of the creation.*"

But while miracles are discarded by the intelligence of the age on the ground of their imputing to God an agency which is impossible, the doctrine of angels and ministering spirits is rejected out of the reverent care which the age has of the Divine omnipotence⁷! It is an unworthy anthropomorphitic conception, we are told, to surround the Almighty with a court like an earthly sovereign, to suppose that he needs messengers to bear his commands, or that he works otherwise than immediately throughout the creation. Now, as far as relates to the special objection against the statements of the sacred books posterior to the Babylonian captivity, and an asserted difference in substance between these and the doctrine of angels in the earlier Scriptures, the refutation of this may be deferred to our Second Part, when our author will be met on his critical and historical ground: at present our concern is with his philosophical theology only. And when it is considered that the accomplishment of divine purposes by human ministrations is never considered by wise and pious minds as any the least exception from the agency of God, who holds the hearts and hands of all at his disposal:—when also it is considered that the ministration of

⁶ See Michelet's *History of German Philosophy*, Vol. II. pp. 618 and 633.

⁷ See Strauss, Vol. I. p. 119, &c., Vol. II. p. 776, &c.

angels, with respect to man, is never represented in **Scripture** in any light that derogates from this divine agency, but rather as an efflux of His omnipotence, whom all from the highest to the lowest obey,—this sensitive concern for the undivided honour of the Supreme in this matter is surely somewhat misplaced and superfluous. It might be even more philosophical to call attention to what is true, or an image of the true, in the analogies of human sovereignty and attendance, than thus to bring forward, as if it were denied or impugned, the infinite difference that exists between the two, in the relative capacities of the servants and the served. This difference was far more sensibly present, we may be certain, to the sacred writers, both Jewish and Christian, than it can be to our author and his school; whose aim in this, as in the kindred topic of miracles, is to sink altogether the character of personal agency and moral rule into the Spinozist conception of bare physical pervasiveness and operation.

On the topic of apostate spirits and their leader, another object of our author's hostility^a, as opposed to the asserted superior religious intelligence of our time, little in this place need be said. It is merely necessary to observe that, in the supposition of the existence of those high created intelligences, whom we call Angels, the possibility of their falling into sin is necessarily involved: and that there is nothing in the circumstances or the consequences of this apostasy, or their wish to extend it to other beings,—as they are declared to us in the Christian Revelation,—to which human analogies do not bear witness as antecedently credible. A greater difficulty may perhaps be imagined to occur as to the representations we there find of the extensive spiritual power which these apostate intelligences exercise, their influence in some circumstances over the bodies of men, and the necessity universally inculcated on the Christian of watching against their assaults and deceits,—of supporting himself, not only by the assured sympathy and succour of all pure and uncorrupted spirits, but by the invincible aid of the Holy Spirit, the inhabiting Godhead within him. But it is far easier to provoke the scoffs of the profane and careless on this topic, after the manner of the free-thinkers of

^a Vol. II. p. 776, &c. &c.

the last century, than to convince any truly rational enquirer, i.e. any humble serious-minded person, that such things are impossible and beyond belief. We know too little of the mysterious boundary between mind and matter to pronounce on antecedent probabilities here. Nor can we judge of the means of spiritual communication possessed by beings higher in the scale of nature than ourselves, when there is so much in our own, which even to other men less advanced than we are in arts and culture, would be extraordinary, or in Strauss's language, incredible⁹. There is nothing therefore which should render inadmissible the distinct information on this head which the Christian revelation supplies, strongly illustrated as it is by the history of human error; when we remember the forms of positive moral evil that are embodied in the objects of adoration to a large portion of mankind, and see also, how, in the most cultivated period of the heathen world, that in which Christ appeared, the all-pervading wisdom and beneficence were hidden from the perception of the most sagacious observers of human affairs, and an actively malignant providence imagined in its place.

The nullity of the considerations which this philosophy opposes *in limine* to the admission of any supernatural revelation is now, it may be hoped, sufficiently evinced. It only remains to see whether our author's objections of critical detail are more formidable: and specially, whether he has succeeded in demonstrating any incongruity with historic truth in the narrative of our Lord's birth and infancy, which should necessitate the recourse to his mythical interpretation. Before however I proceed to this, and take final leave of the general consideration of the Straussian principles, a few parting reflexions may not be unseasonable.

The maxim that "not an Individual, but the Idea," must be the object of attention in the Christology of an enlightened period, is not peculiar to the enormous infidelity now under review, or even to the principles which in every German metaphysical school, from Kant downwards, appear to have directed the province of philosophical theology. It belongs in some

⁹ "Die in's Unglaubliche steigende Gewalt des Menschen über die Natur." Vol. II. p. 769.

degree to the spirit of the age generally, an age impatient to grasp and systematize every thing; and it is found even within the pale of supernaturalist Christianity. While the sacred name of Christ is by many beside Strauss and his adherents considered as barely symbolizing the idea of human improvement, it is by some taken exclusively as representing the idea of pure benevolence,—by some, that of mental liberty,—by others that of impunity for sin to those who accept, and acquiesce in, this *one* leading fact of gratuitousness. And while each of these deals freely with the inspired record of Christianity as his peculiar *gnosis* inclines him, and takes upon himself to decide, even in the words and works of the great subject, what is the Gospel and what is not,—the Individual Christ, the reception of whom, as there portrayed in the totality of his attributes and dealings with man, alone secures to the receiver subjectively whatever is true and just and holy in these several ideas, is either not truly apprehended at all, or but partially and indistinctly. When the historical particular is not denied, as by Strauss, it is at least bent at will to the previous conception, instead of being the basis and perpetual suggestor of its own proper, and often complex, idea. And thus we find that, while in the central point of all—the Cross of Christ, its true Christian aspect, as the reconciling love of God to man, is missed by the first mentioned classes; its ever concurrent representation by the same Spirit of truth as the exemplar of human patience and humility, the effective source and principle of divine charity within us, the crucifixion of sin in our members, the essence of self-denial and self-sacrifice, and that as the only course in which the Atonement is applied and secured in effect to the individual Christian,—this is passed over by the others, deposed from its declared place in the Christian scheme, or even stigmatized as a Socinian conception. Meanwhile these classes, however conflicting mutually on other parts of holy Scripture, agree constantly in one point, in overlooking or explaining away all that relates to the Church: in divesting of all external attributes, and thus reducing to a mere ideal abstraction, the one divinely appointed instrument through which Christ, the image of the invisible Father, is declared by the Spirit to the world. For the purely objective manner in which the Church has ever exhibited her Christ to the faith of mankind is offensive to Ideal-

ists of every description. It interferes by a too prominent testimony with the authority both of their idolized compactness of system, and of their partial mode of interpreting holy Writ. And hence their small esteem of the catholic truth embodied in the confessions of every age, in comparison with the particular time when, and the persons by whom, their Idea was first set forth in its all-absorbing supremacy to the world.

From all modes of error, and from that portentous one in particular, not far from ourselves, with which it has been the business of these pages to contend, our recourse is to the grand *objective truth* once delivered to the Saints, and, however obscured by human weakness, never without its testimony, its living exhibition of righteousness and power to mankind. This truth is what the Creeds of the earliest Church compendiously propound to us: the one God, the Father Almighty, the Creator, not the coexistent soul, of heaven and earth; the only-begotten Son Jesus Christ, true God of God, truly incarnate as man, who was born of the Virgin Mary, and spoke and acted and suffered all that the Gospels tell; who truly died on the cross for our sins, truly rose from the dead for our justification, and ascended to the Father, and will come again to judge all men according to their works; the one Holy Ghost sent by him from the Father, the one Holy Catholic Church which that Spirit organizes and perpetuates, the Communion of Saints of all times with their Head and with each other in the divinely founded society which is animated and pervaded by the same Spirit; the Remission of Sins there obtained from Christ, i.e. the first plenary remission in baptism, and all subsequent remissions to the penitent; the Resurrection of the Body from death, not by a figure or double negation, but in deed and truth; and the Life Everlasting, not of the shifting species, but of every individual faithful member of Christ's body, in glory and blessedness. This is authoritatively presented to us from the first by the Church, our mother, as the sum and substance of saving faith. And the argument of our adversary himself has shewn sufficiently that it is from this quarter alone, of attested universal truth, that the means of effectually resisting him must be derived. The schemes of successive Rationalists for superseding this faith, or reproducing its supposed Idea in other doctrinal forms, destroy and refute each other: and yet while no less opposed to the scheme

of the Christian Church, the adversary rests the recommendation of his own fabric on what he asserts it to hold in common with this orthodox scheme—the strength and virtue and consolation of union with God, which he admits to be in this; and which in all the other systems, except his own, he declares to be wanting¹⁰. His own is shewn indeed to be as little tenable as any other: but greater testimony than this from an enemy were evidently impossible.

¹⁰ Vid. sup. pp. 17—24.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE BIRTH OF ST JOHN THE BAPTIST.

SECTION I.

THE MYTHICAL VIEW OF THIS NARRATIVE OPPOSED TO THOSE OF THE SUPERNATURALISTS AND THE RATIONALISTS.

THE first evangelical narrative to which Strauss applies his criticism is that of the nativity of our Lord's precursor, contained in Luke i. 5—80. After a preface¹, which will invite further notice, justly censuring those who would reject this with the following chapter, as forming no genuine part of the third gospel, he proceeds, agreeably to his constant method, first to the review and condemnation of the *supernatural* narrative as wholly incredible,—secondly, to the refutation of the *natural* explanation of it attempted by the rationalistic school,—thirdly, to the establishment of his own view of it as a pure *mythus*. I will rehearse his reasons succinctly in his own order, as well those under the second head, where he is on the side of Christianity and the Church, as those under the first and third, where he is diametrically opposed: in order that issue may be afterwards fairly joined on these two, the destructive and constructive points of his theory, beginning with the last; and that the contrast of the truth with the self-destroying schemes of its opponents may more effectually appear.

I. ²The ground for rejecting altogether the *supernatural* history, as it stands, is found in the angelic apparition and its

¹ Strauss, Vol. I. p. 127. (See p. 104 inf.)

² Strauss, Vol. I. pp. 128—139.

alleged consequences. This is incredible, according to Strauss; 1. because the Angel gives his proper name, Gabriel, with the assertion of a certain high rank in the celestial hierarchy; 2. because the acts attributed to him are such as to shock our reason; 3. because the very existence of such beings and their functions are what the intelligence of these latest times can by no means admit. The first point has special importance attached to it, because these angelic names and orders are said to have come from Babylon; and because, as we are also confidently told, they occur not in any genuine prophetic writings even after the captivity, but appear first in the Jewish writings of the Maccabean period; a circumstance which, on the supposition that no heathens could possess, and much less originate, a truth of such magnitude, consistently with the principles of supernaturalism, argues an unworthy œconomy, or condescension to mere popular opinion, on the part of the Angel or his divine employer. The main stress of the second consideration is laid on the severity of the punishment with which a natural movement of doubt is visited by the divine messenger; whereas in Abraham and Sarah on a similar occasion much stronger indications of incredulity than that of Zacharias have no such penalty following. As for the last point, the nonexistence of such superhuman functionaries as these has been made abundantly clear by Bauer and other writers on "*Hebrew Mythology*;" the desire to conceive of other spiritual beings of a higher sphere is now satisfied by the persuasion that the heavenly bodies are peopled like our globe; no room is left in the creation, physical or intellectual, for agents like these: and those among the orthodox, who would represent them as so many divine forces employed in the administration of the world, are by that idea, according to Strauss, obliged to deny their personality. The personal angel of this and other histories being thus as remote from right reason as from our sensible experience, the supernatural history falls at once: the truth of which is moreover declared to be incompatible, as well with John's declaration that he knew not Jesus before his baptism (John i. 31), as with the message he subsequently sent to our Lord (Matth. xi. 2, Luke vii. 19,) requiring satisfaction as to his Messiahship.

II. The miraculous history being thus summarily disposed of, our author proceeds to discuss the attempts to rationalize it

by the introduction of natural explanations³. Such is the idea that the visitant was a human being; or that of Bahrdt, that it was but a flash of lightning, followed by a fright or swoon; or that of Paulus, who thinks that in the excited imagination of the aged priest, long desirous of offspring, the smoke of the incense in the august sanctuary, partially irradiated by the lamps, might exhibit a floating spectral image that could easily be taken for an angelic apparition. On the subject of the dumbness, the doctors of this school are equally divided: some making it a paralytic affection produced by the sudden trouble and astonishment at the phantasm, and cured as suddenly by joyful emotion on the day when the long expected heir was named, (like the dumbness of the son of Cræsus⁴, permanently removed by a violent emotion of a different kind): others, among whom is Paulus, resolving it into a voluntary penance of the venerable priest, who having made an untoward soliloquy in the temple, avenges on himself, by rigid silence, this ungrateful abuse of the faculty of speech, until the time when he could exert it in public thanks to God for His signal mercy. On these laboured explanations Strauss remarks that they do not with all their pains remove the miraculous element from the story: for such a violent ecstasy as is here supposed is certainly no natural effect of hope long deferred on an aged man, who was moreover too well habituated to the temple-service to be misled by any such optical illusion as has been imagined for him. Thus, as Strauss pointedly and truly observes, Paulus has only exchanged a divine miracle for a miracle of chance: while in his own pantheistic judgment (which cannot be repeated without horror at its senseless impiety) the doctrines that to God nothing is impossible, and that nothing is impossible to chance, are equally precarious and unscientific⁵. (What, on any less atheistic judgment

³ Vol. I. pp. 139—147.

⁴ Herodot. Lib. I. cap. 85.

⁵ Strauss, Vol. I. p. 142: "So hat Paulus hier nür ein göttliches Wunder in ein Wunder des Zufalls umgewandelt. Ob aber gesagt wird: bei Gott ist kein Ding unmöglich; oder: dem Zufall ist kein Ding unmöglich, ist beides gleich precär und unwissenschaftlich."

In reasoning in the next section against even the most partial admission of the rationalistic method by a true philosopher, who should consider every part as mythical, Strauss says that when we set aside the angelic appearance, the dumbness of Zachariah, in its equally sudden infliction and removal, loses *its only sufficient cause, the supernatural one*. "Da aber eben durch die Wegschaffung der Angelophanie die Stummheit des Zacharias in ihrem plötzlichen Eintreten und Wiederaufhören ihre einzig genügende übernatürliche Ursache verliert," &c. p. 149.

than this, must therefore be the balance of rationality between the orthodox view and that of Paulus, is too evident to be enlarged on.) But our author proceeds to remark that, even with the largest recourse to chance, the dumbness is not explained satisfactorily by this method. Supposing it the effect of faculties overpowered by the strangeness of the ecstatic vision, the realization of the hope of progeny under such circumstances becomes doubly miraculous, as Schleiermacher had observed before: while the other supposition, that of voluntary speechlessness, beside being contradicted, as is well shewn, by plain terms not to be explained away, and moreover by the whole import and tenour of the narrative on which alone it founds itself, is attended with fresh incongruities and strangenesses of its own. Our author concludes by asking; What would Dr Paulus think on reading that once on a time a somnambulist in an ecstasy predicted a nativity, antecedently improbable in all its circumstances, all which however were afterwards fulfilled to the letter;—would he admit such a coincidence? And how then can he credit it in the New Testament, without recurring to the supposition of other laws than those of our ordinary life governing the events there recorded,—in other words, to supernaturalism?

III. To escape from this suicide of rationalistic naturalism, there is but one resource: which is to conceive the whole narrative to be not historical, but *mythical*⁶. And here our author is much displeased with those who, agreeing with him in the principle, adopt the conclusion in this case only by halves. Such is Bauer, who supposes that John had been actually born of an aged mother, long sterile; that his aged father had in fact some months before been troubled, from no extraordinary cause, with a sanguineous congestion that caused dumbness, and which joy at the birth of a son suddenly removed; and that these remembered events, when combined with the subsequent celebrity of John as a preacher of repentance, created by degrees the purely mythical part of the narrative; viz. the angelic apparition in the temple, the predicted birth of the Baptist, and the infliction of speechlessness on his designated father as a penalty for having doubted the prediction. It is deemed by Strauss highly unworthy of the author of the "Hebrew Mythology," to reason

⁶ Vol. I. pp. 147—155.

in a manner so imperfect and informal, which is but the exploded naturalism come back, and not rather to conclude at once that the *whole* of the circumstances of this nativity,—the great age of the parents, the angelic announcement, and the dumbness inflicted for not admitting it at first,—were excogitated as an entire mythus from the single source of John's subsequent fame as the forerunner of the Messiah. In every other mode of interpreting the circumstance, observes our author, we are pressed with all the difficulties of a half measure. Accordingly Gabler and Horst have gone into this matter more boldly than Bauer, and treated the entire story as a philosophical or rather dogmatical mythus: i. e. the dressing up in a narrative form, with poetic imagery and detail, of the notion that John, as an extraordinary person (extraordinary in himself, and still more so as the forerunner of Christ), should be granted in an extraordinary manner to the world. And such, with respect to this earliest portion of the Gospel narrative, is likewise the view of Schleiermacher: who, without indeed denying that some historical ground may have existed for this, conceives all search for it, whatever it may have been, to be infructuous and vain. And that this is the only correct view, Strauss further assures us from the ancient examples of Isaac, of Samson, and of Samuel, all said to be born of parents to whom the hope of offspring had been apparently closed for ever: the story in each case being a mythus engendered by the subsequent facts of these persons' history, or the importance of their names in Israel: each preceding fable also, according to this theory, having an influence in the production of the later ones. So essential is this last circumstance to the whole system, that the occurrence in the later narrative of any strictly original feature, would be considered as an argument against its mythical character⁷. But

⁷ We may observe the anxiety of Strauss, after having found his strange prototype for the *πρωτοκτίδιον*, to discover one for the only remaining circumstance which appears unprecedented, the dumbness of Zacharias, and his eager catching at the extremely dissimilar instance he finds in the Old Testament. To this he is led, not only by his philosophical principles, but by the necessity of obviating an objection, of which he cannot help feeling the force, against his whole theory. The objection is, the impossibility of the creation of the evangelical history from mere mythi in the short space of time allowed by even the latest date that can be possibly assigned for the general reception of the four Gospels: and his answer is, that the mythi for the far greater part were *already made*, in the Christology of the Jews derived from the Old Testament after the Babylonian captivity, and needed only the individual application to Jesus and his circumstances to be formed in the Christian period. *Introduction*, § 14 (Vol. I. pp. 112, 113). Without this finding

our author's sagacity has effectually removed all such apparent originalities here. Thus the *tablet* on which the divinely instructed father, while yet speechless, writes the name of John for his son, is no other than the mythic offspring of the *roll* on which the prophet Isaiah (ch. viii. 1) was commanded to inscribe the name of the mysterious child *Maher-shalal-hash-baz*, the pledge of the fast approaching spoliation of the two hostile kings:—while the circumstance of another prophet, Daniel (ch. x. 15), becoming mute with awe in an angel's presence, until the celestial visitant touched his lips and restored him, engendered the circumstance of the dumbness of Zacharias before his angelic messenger. From these and other ideas, floating together in the minds of the Hebrew converts to Christianity, and attaching themselves to the person of the Baptist precursor, this mythical story grew at length into the shape that it now wears, in the interval between John's public life (in which alone there is a slight basis of historical truth) and the composition of the third gospel.

Such then is the first specimen of Strauss's historical procedure: which, though not to be consistently embraced except on the philosophical principles that were the subject of our former review, is far more adapted than they are to gain admittance among us. For while there is real force in the logic by which this is maintained as the only true carrying out of the anti-supernaturalist principle, the revolting inference is still apparently avoided, which drives many to take refuge in the forced explications of the rationalist. The word *mythus* is a milder as well as a less definite term than *delusion* or *imposture*: and though the assertions are perfectly equivalent, it shocks less to be told that Christianity stands on the same footing of mental truth with heathen fables, than to be told, as by the sceptics of the former age, that it is based on falsehood like them. But since our subject-matter is now at length precise and definite, let us discuss, on the grounds proper to such an enquiry, whether this theory be indeed applicable to the case before us or not.

of precedents for each event, he feels that its wholly mythic and non-historical character were untenable.

SECTION II.

EXAMINATION OF THE MYTHICAL VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF JOHN THE BAPTIST'S NATIVITY, FROM THE CHARACTER OF THE DOCUMENT CONTAINING IT.

IN examining that view of the Baptist's nativity, which is thus put forth as the only reasonable and true one, it is not intended to dwell on the general question. It is not necessary to discuss the abstract possibility of mere ideas without any historic substance forming themselves, in the minds of a people at the same time rude and imaginative, into narrative fables which pass afterwards for facts; or (to use the language of our author, and others of higher authority in these matters) the possible existence of purely philosophic or purely poetic mythi, as distinguished from the historic mythus which has some fact, or other for its basis. The relative places of these in the formation of heathen mythologies, and the early fabulous history of most nations, may be an interesting subject of speculation; but it is a confessedly different people and age that form the subject of our present enquiry. Plausible as it might appear to carry these considerations, as several predecessors¹ of Strauss have ventured to carry them (notwithstanding some serious and stubborn differences in the phenomena²), into the region of the earlier

¹ Eichhorn, Bauer, De Wette, &c. &c.

² There is one respect in which Strauss is himself constrained in a remarkable manner to confess that the Hebrew religion has no mythus (*Introduction*, pp. 90, 91), viz. in its constant maintenance of the immutability of the Divine Being in Himself, His aspects only changing to the varying world,—unlike in this to every heathen representation of the divinity. But the contrast is no less true in other respects, where Strauss would confound the two together. The confession of Wagner (author of a work entitled *Ideen zu einer allgemeine Mythologie der alten Welt*) that the Hebrews alone were exempt from the general contagion of mythic formation may be seen in p. 15 of Pareau's *Disputatio de Mythica S. Codicis Interpretatione* (Utrecht, 1824). The latter author's able defence of this position against Bauer and others, in pp. 108—120 of his work (with the exception of an [anti-Trinitarian] observation in p. 111 on the name אלהים, against which I would earnestly protest), is worthy of an attentive perusal.

Old Testament history, it required more hardihood than some of the boldest of them possessed to extend the application to the period of the Gospel;—a period as historical as any that the ancient world presents to view; in which the transactions of every province within the limits of the late Macedonian and then Roman empire,—the barbarian, so termed, as well as the Grecian,—and the acts of Herod among the number, were the objects of research and careful narration, by natives of the soil³ as well as by strangers. We do not deny the possibility, even here, of the historical mythus or legend: such legends, we know, did arise, as soon as there was time for their formation, out of the previously admitted events we are now considering. But in order to conceive the existence of the other species of mythus in an age of the world so characterized, we must apparently imagine a people isolated from all surrounding earthly influences, in whose minds mere notions could grow into believed facts, who could even form out of a multitude of similar spectral facts of old traditional belief a compound fable of their own, and give it out unanimously as what their fathers and nearest predecessors had seen and heard. It were useless to go into the elaborate distributions of the subject in Strauss's introduction, in which, among other things, legend and mythus are distinguished, until we see how this attempt at scientific classification will hold together on the field of actual enquiry;—whether, when applied to that age of the world, his alleged unconscious mythi do not inevitably pass, even under his treatment of them, into something very different, viz. into what are called by the Apostle *μῦθοι σεσοφισμένοι*, fables coined with an intention⁴, and that intention no very honest one. The only

³ Such particularly was Nicolaus of Damascus, one intimately known to Augustus as well as to Herod, and among the most celebrated historians of the ancient world, though only some scattered fragments of his *Universal History*, comprising some Jewish as well as other Oriental matter, have come down to us (Ed. Orelli, Lips. 1804). Other Gentile historians of the time might be named, as Timagenes the Syrian, and others equally near, who wrote of the affairs of the Jews: but the name of Flavius Josephus in the next generation eminently connects history of this species with the character of an Israelite and a Pharisee. And the five books of Maccabees, written some time before by Hebrews of the Hebrews, on subjects most apt to draw forth the national feeling and character, will exhibit to every one who dispassionately reads them anything but a mythical or unhistorical character.

⁴ Vide 2 Pet. i. 16. How inevitably the imputation of mythicism to the sacred writers passes into the charge of disingenuousness or something worse, whether the critic design it or not, is shewn in many instances of Strauss's work. In the part now under review, the real meaning of his conclusion is that which a recent writer

question worth debating with him is this; whether the document that relates these things is of the character to which alone the epithet mythic can *in any sense* be truly ascribed: whether, either in the circumstances of its composition and reception, or in its manner of narrating the particular circumstances now under review, it will justify this view of the utter unreality of its contents.

What then is, in the first place, the document in which this narrative of St John's nativity is contained? It is one of the *ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων* often referred to by Justin, himself a native of Palestine, and a convert from philosophical Gentilism, who underwent martyrdom soon after the middle of the second century,—“Apostolic Memoirs,” which he states expressly to have been composed (partly) by the apostles of Christ and (partly) by their immediate followers⁵; and which he describes as read constantly, together with the writings of the Prophets, in the Christian assemblies⁶,—thus implying their reception and use in the Church at least in the age next preceding his own. That the “Memoirs” which he thus designates by the most appropriate name that the classic Greek language supplies, (the same which is prefixed to Xenophon's minute record of the discourses and conferences of his master, Socrates,) are in fact our four Gospels, is a matter beyond all reasonable doubt. The identity is proved—not only by the perfect accordance of the above description to our four canonical Gospels, of which the first and last purport to be written by Apostles of our Lord, the two others by immediate followers of Apostles,—not only by his expression in another

of kindred spirit expresses in the following terms: “Nobis quidem probabilius est, quæ Matt. i. 18 seqq. scripta leguntur, commenta et narrata quam facta esse, ut oraculo Jes. vii. 14, exitus daretur perperam intellecto. Ejusdem, ni fallor, naturæ sunt fabulæ secundo capite Matthæi narratæ, ut oracula Mic. v. 2, etc., viderentur in Jesu impleta.” (Jo. Schultess, de *Præexistencia Jesu et de Spiritu Sancto N. T. iam religiosæ quam libere disputationes*. Lips. 1833.) (Contrast this view with the doctrine of the long citation from Otfried Müller on the unconscious production of *heathen mythi*, formed in the minds of all the people, and not only of the writer, in Strauss, I. pp. 100—103.)

⁵ ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων συντετάχθαι, ὅτι ἰδρῶς ὥσεὶ θρόμβοι κατεχεῖτο αὐτοῦ εὐχομένου καὶ λέγοντος, Παρελθέτω εἰ δυνατόν τὸ ποτήριον τοῦτο. *Dialog. cum Tryphon*. p. 307, ed. Jebb. Compare Luke xxii. 42, 44.

⁶ καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων, ἧ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν Προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται, μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ· εἰτα πανσαμένον τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νοουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται. *Apol.* I. § 87.

place, "the Apostles in their Memoirs of Him, *which are called Gospels*,"—but by the entire substantial agreement of his citations from them with our Lord's discourses in the Gospels, an agreement sometimes verbally accurate, but more often attended with the same memorial inexactness which characterizes his citations of the books of the Old Testament. The doubts on this subject raised by Eichhorn and others (who have availed themselves of this name ἀπομνημονεύματα, as of that of λόγια in Papias, to indulge in every variety of hypothesis concerning them) have only given occasion to set this matter in a more convincing light; and the dissertation in particular of Professor Winer, shewing "*Justinum Martyrem evangeliiis canonicis usum fuisse*," has decided the critical question. Now this alone carries the attested recognition of those authentic memoirs of our Lord to a time very near the death of the last surviving Apostle and Evangelist; and, in conjunction with the occasional notices and quotations of earlier Christian authors (including Papias and Polycarp for St Matthew, St Mark, and St John), proves that the canonical authority of our four Gospels, compared by St Irenæus of Lyons, not much later in the second century, to the four winds of heaven bearing the breath of life to all the regions of the earth⁹, had descended without question or intermission from the first. Their constant use in the Church makes the silent,

⁷ *Apolog.* i. § 86: τὴν δι' εὐχῆς λόγον τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ εὐχαριστηθεῖσαν τροφήν, ἐξ ἧς αἷμα καὶ σάρκες κατὰ μεταβολὴν τρέφονται ἡμῶν, ἐκείνου τοῦ σαροκοποιηθέντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ σάρκα καὶ αἷμα ἐδιδάχθημεν εἶναι· οἱ γὰρ Ἀπόστολοι ἐν τοῖς γενομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπομνημονεύμασιν, ἃ καλεῖται εὐαγγέλια, οὕτως παρέδωκαν ἐντετάλλαι αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἰησοῦν, λαβόντα ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου· Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου. καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὁμοίως λαβόντα καὶ εὐχαριστήσαντα εἰπεῖν· Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου. Here is the constant catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, deduced from Matt. xxvi. 26, 27; Mark xiv. 22, 23; Luke xxii. 19, 20.

⁸ In Tom. i. Part ii. pp. 220—252, of the *Commentationes Theologicae*, edited by Rosenmüller, &c. Lips. 1826. See also to the same effect, Olshausen: *Echtheit der vier canonischen Evangelien, aus der Geschichte der zwei ersten Jahrhunderte erwiesen*, pp. 289—294 [Königsberg, 1823].

⁹ Ἐπειδὴ τέσσαρα κλίματα τοῦ κόσμου, ἐν ᾧ ἔσμεν, εἰσι καὶ τέσσαρα καθολικὰ πνεύματα, κατέσπαρται δὲ ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς γῆς, στύλος δὲ καὶ στήριγμα ἐκκλησίας τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ πνεῦμα ζωῆς· εἰκότως τέσσαρας ἔχειν αὐτὴν στύλους πανταχόθεν πνέοντας τὴν ἀβθαρσίαν, καὶ ἀναζωπυροῦντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους. *Adv. Hæres.* Lib. iii. c. 11 [8. ed. Stieren. Tom. i. p. 467]. The object of this chapter, which is not extant altogether but in the Latin version, is to shew against the heretics that there must be four Gospels—"neque autem plura numero quam hæc sunt, neque rursus pauciora:" and this after he had distinctly described the gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. Irenæus's testimony to these and other books of the New Testament is also the subject of the 8th chapter of Eusebius's fifth book (*Hist. Ecc.* Tom. ii. p. 52, ed. Heinichen).

unobserved substitution of new Gospels for those before received a supposition not only gratuitous, but repugnant to all historical credibility¹⁰.

With respect to the particular memoir or gospel now before us, it differs in two remarkable respects from the others: (1) in having been addressed to a Gentile Christian, with a view of confirming him as to the truth of the facts on which he had been catechetically instructed; and (2) in being accompanied with a second treatise addressed to the same person, following up the history of the ascended Lord by the earlier history of his Apostles, and a more particular detail of the acts of one who was extraordinarily added to their number, who was eminently the Apostle of the Gentiles, and of whose labours and travels the author, Luke, was a sharer and companion. The weight accruing to his testimony from this cause, and from the intercourse which this latter work implies with so many to whom Christ's personal history was well known, stamps an authority only inferior to the apostolic on his gospel: and it is in vain that our author attempts to evade the force of this by a contemptuous recurrence to his perpetual *petitio principii*, that the miraculous histories of the Acts impair the credit of their recorder, and by the false assertion, for which he appeals to De Wette, and for which it is sufficient to appeal to our Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ* for an ample refutation, that those histories are in many points contradictory to the genuine epistles of St Paul¹¹. But the authenticity of St Luke's history of our Lord receives attestation from a singular quarter in ancient times. The more Gentile

¹⁰ The hypothesis of Eichhorn, not very different from that of Strauss, that the four Gospels, at the close of the second century, succeeded into the place of older evangelical documents, the Gospels of Marcion and Cerinthus, the *Ἀπομνημονεύματα* of Justin, and others supposed to be quoted by the Apostolic Fathers, is characterized in p. xlv. of the learned preface of the English translation of Schleiermacher as one which "a single positive proof of the early use of one of the three canonical gospels" (of Matthew, Mark, or Luke) "would be sufficient to overthrow."

¹¹ Strauss, Vol. I. p. 79 (*Introduction*, § 13). Would a critic who speculates in this strain have been satisfied, as he seems to say he would have been, had St Luke introduced the name of St Paul into the preamble of either the Acts or the Gospel? Would it not have been an occasion of suspicion, as though the author needed a certificate either to Theophilus or to the Church? Is not his almost unconscious use of the first person plural in the latter chapters of the Acts (which such wild conjectures are here invoked to neutralize) a more satisfactory evidence to us, when backed by the testimony of the disciple of St Polycarp, and the tradition of the whole Christian world? (Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* III. 1.)—See Biscoe on the Acts of the Apostles, ch. xiv. xv.

complexion of his narration, compared with that of the other histories of the Saviour, commended it to the predilection of that class of persons in the earliest ages, who sought to engraft upon Christianity the heathen theology of the East: and who, in carrying out this idea, were constrained to represent Christ, the true God, and emancipator of the soul from matter, as in direct hostility to the old carnal dispensation and its author. To these men the Gospel of St Matthew was most distasteful from its perpetual reference to the law and the prophets: and it was doubly so in the interpolated and more Judaical form in which that Gospel appeared in the hands of the Hebrew Christians, the heretical Ebionites or the more orthodox Nazarenes. It is from St Luke therefore exclusively that Marcion, the founder (in the second century) of a new and strange form of this heathenized Christianity, compiled the Gospel that he thought necessary for the instruction of his followers: adding nothing, but omitting much throughout, and sometimes transposing; but proceeding in all evidently on dogmatical grounds alone. One specimen of his procedure may suffice, as all others nearly resemble it. From Christ's appearance in the synagogue of Nazareth, in ch. iv. 16—30, all is excluded which either refers to ancient prophecy, or which points to our Lord's parentage as a man amongst men. But one of the omitted verses, the 27th, is strangely transferred to the history of the ten lepers in ch. xvii, because it seemed to this heretic to furnish a good opportunity of demonstrating the inferiority of the Demiurgus, the God of Israel: in that he in the days of Elisæus the prophet, when there were many lepers, could heal but one, whereas Christ, the true God of spirits, healed the whole ten before him. This example may serve to shew the wholly uncritical and unsound spirit of Marcion's alterations wherever they are made; and thus to establish the true character of his compilation, as no independent history of Christ, but as the strongest witness to the fact that no such was procurable¹²:—a witness to the indubitable authority of our own

¹² In Vol. I. p. 70 of the second edition of the *Leben Jesu*, Strauss speaks as if the circumstance of Marcion entitling his work the Gospel of St Paul or of Christ, rather than of St Luke, impaired the constant testimony of the Fathers to the fact that his gospel is a mere mutilation of our third Gospel, and their unanimous witness on the other hand to this latter being St Luke's. In the third Edition (Vol. I. p. 79), however, he has withdrawn this reference to Marcion altogether: either from consciousness of the weakness of the above observation, or from perceiving that

third Gospel, in every part of it that is retained, and no inconsiderable witness even to much of what is rejected, when the uniform principle of the rejection is once well marked and proved; when it is seen that all is retained which does not cross the heathen notion of the *θεοφάνεια* by too strongly asserting the Christian one, the appearance of the Eternal Son incarnate, from the seed of Abraham and David. It is not then a matter of wonder that the Marcionite gospel should

whatever force it might appear to have stood in the way of his subsequent argument (considered in the last note) against the connexion of the third Gospel with St Paul, or from the consciousness that for his purpose it were far better to keep Marcion's edition of St Luke wholly out of sight. Certainly nothing has been more decisive and complete than the overthrow, in the land of its birth, of the attempt of Semler, Eichhorn, and others, to set aside the Fathers' testimony on this head by the assertion of Marcion's gospel as an independent document. The minute and careful analysis of the citations of Epiphanius and Tertullian, made by Olshausen, in pp. 115—190 of the valuable work above mentioned, with his argument in the twenty-five pages following, has completed the discussion which had been before opened by Hahn. Finally, the latter's restitution and re-exhibition of the document itself (*Evangelium Marcionis ex auctoritate Veterum Monumentorum descripsit Augustus Hahn*), inserted in Thilo's *Codex Apocryphus N. T.* Tom. 1. pp. 401—486, may be now confidently referred to as the exact context of what that heretic gave out as the only true gospel. On reviewing its contents, disjointed as they are, and mangled to serve a purpose (*ἡμαρτὸν βεβρωμένου ὑπὸ πολλῶν σητῶν ἐπέχει τὸν τρόπον*, as Epiphanius writes), any Catholic may now well exclaim with the African Father of old, "*Misereor tui, Marcion, frustra laborasti. Christus enim Jesus in Evangelio tuo meus est.*" ([Tertull.] *Adv. Marcion.* Lib. iv.)

The following extracts from a dialogue of Origen against the Marcionites will illustrate what is here said:

"ADAMANTIUS (Origen)—to the Marcionite. Produce your own Apostolicon, though for the most part mutilated; and I will prove to you that Mark and Luke were assistants to Paul.

"EUTROPIUS (the umpire)—to the Marcionite. Shew it.

"ADAMANTIUS. I read in the latter part of St Paul's Epistle to the Colossians. *Aristarchus my fellow-prisoner saluteth you, and Mark, sister's son to Barnabas (touching whom ye received commandments; if he come unto you, receive him): and Jesus, which is called Justus, who are of the circumcision. These only are my fellow-workers unto the kingdom of God; who have been a comfort to me..... Luke the beloved physician, and Demas greet you* (Col. iv. 10—14).

"MEGETHIUS (the Marcionite). The Apostle did not say according to my Gospels, but according to my Gospel (2 Tim. ii. 8, &c.). Observe how he says one: and says moreover, *Though we or an Angel from heaven preach any other Gospel to you than that we have preached, let him be accursed* (Gal. i. 8). When he says that there is but one Gospel, how say you that there are four?

"ADAM. We too say that there is but one Gospel: but there are four Evangelists.

"MEG. So far from there being four Evangelists, there is not even one. For he says also, that *there is not another*, according to my Gospel: *but there are some that trouble you, and would pervert the Gospel of Christ to another* (Gal. i. 7).

"ADAM. Who then is the writer of that Gospel which you say is but one?

"MEG. Christ.

"ADAM. Did the Lord himself write, *I was crucified, and rose again the third day*? Is it so written?

"MEG. The Apostle Paul added this.

"ADAM. Was Paul a witness of the crucifixion? &c. &c."

Orig. *Dialogus contra Marcion.* pp. 8, 9, 12, ed. Wetsten. Basil. 1674.

omit the passage now under review—striking out from St Luke the whole of the first two chapters, which contain the history of our Lord's nativity according to the flesh, and so much also of the two following chapters as relate to His human genealogy, His baptism, and His temptation¹³.

That this omission should be eagerly seized on by some of the anti-supernaturalists of Germany¹⁴, as it was with few exceptions by the whole body of English Unitarians, as a ground for rejecting from the Scriptural canon the first two chapters of St Luke, (as they found other pretences for declining those of St Matthew, and thus freeing themselves altogether from the doctrine of the miraculous conception,) was to be expected from the genius and disposition of those parties. Our author in the commencement of this chapter truly reprobates this conclusion as opposed to every just principle on which the genuineness of writings should be determined: though in his account of the rationalists' motive in the rejection, viz. a fear of extending to every part of the Gospel the mythic interpretation which they felt to be required for this, he evinces strongly his own motive for zealously defending it¹⁵. In fact, the history of the birth of our Lord and his forerunner does afford apparent advantages to the mythicizer beyond the other parts of the New Testament, where the events are closer to the narrators. But it should be remembered that among the passages justly vindicated from the arbitrary mutilations of Marcion is the preface, ch. i. 1—4, no less than the miraculous narration that follows:

¹³ In his mutilated St Luke, Marcion gives but the beginning of iii. 1, and thence proceeds immediately to iv. 31; adding, to mark the connexion and to express his own sentiments, ὁ Θεός instead of Ἰησοῦς,—a liberty with the sacred text which we do not observe except at this commencement: which runs thus, "Now in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, God came down to Capernaum, a city of Galilee, and taught them on the Sabbath-days. And they were astonished at his doctrine, &c. &c." Thus he proceeds through the cure of the man with the withered hand, and of Simon's mother-in-law, to v. 39, and then adds v. 16 concerning the visit to Nazareth, omitting the words "where he had been brought up," which did not suit his system: and after pursuing that history to v. 30 (but omitting the reading of the prophets, the reference to Elias and Elisæus, and the Nazarenes' mention of our Lord's kindred), he then returns to v. 40. This transposition of the two clauses, 16—30 and 31—39, is made, not from any reference to St Matthew and St Mark (by whom that visit to Nazareth is placed much later, viz. between the events of the eighth and ninth chapters of St Luke), but to give meaning to v. 23, which implies previous wonderful works at Capernaum; St Luke having here, as elsewhere, sacrificed the order of time to that of mental association, in bringing our Lord back to the place of his education immediately after his baptism. This is the only place I have observed, in which the motive for Marcion's dislocation has been historical and not dogmatical.

¹⁴ Vid. Kuinoel. *Prolegom. ad Luc.* § 6.

¹⁵ Strauss, Vol. I. p. 127.

and that notwithstanding the difference of phrase, for which it is very easy to account, the two must stand or fall together. Now the supposed difficulties of that narration cannot speak so forcibly, even to the mind of the rationalist, for the mythic interpretation, as the tenour of that preface speaks against it. Whatever be the particular interpretation we attach to the words *παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν ἀκριβῶς*, nothing can be more diametrically opposed than the whole tone of that introduction to the character of a vender of mythi, of one who was either a credulous acceptor of such self-propagating fables himself, or who apprehended a similar disposition in the person to whom he was addressing himself. If words ever bear the impress of the mind of the speaker or writer, this is assuredly the language of one who craves for himself,—who is anxious to communicate to his friend,—a confidence in the assured certainty (*ἀσφάλεια*) of the truths in which he had been instructed: who seeks that security, not in a blind cultivation of those habits of mind on which Gentile or Jewish fables most readily depict themselves, but in the representation of the objective facts of Christianity, even as their original eye-witnesses and authoritative communicators had handed them down (*καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου*)—in tracing them with accuracy (*ἀκριβῶς*) from the report of such persons, imparted through long intercourse to himself, that he might transmit the same to others unaltered and unimpaired, as the foundation of the one true faith which was to continue to the end of the world.

The undeviating simplicity of the narrative following, written in the very plainest style of Hebrew prose, and only poetical in the hymns of praise (still Hebraic) that burst from the parties benefited, agrees in spirit with the above preface as remarkably as the mode of constructing the sentences differs from it. It is most natural that a Hellenist Jew, when passing from a complimentary dedication, for which the Greek form and phrase was in requisition, should recur at once to the known structure of periods in the ancient Scriptures, when recounting how on the scene of Palestine God visited his people yet more signally than of old, and blessed them with the long-expected salvation. Accordingly even Schleiermacher, notwithstanding the microscopic criticism with which he would tear this Gospel

into independent fragments, acquiesces in the continuity of the discourse here from the 4th to the 5th verses: while he also pronounces the whole section that follows to the end of the chapter (though he would there stop!) to form one undoubtedly connected whole¹⁶. It may possibly be asked by an objector—how can the declaration of the preface, applicable as it may be to the public life, the death and resurrection of Christ, apply to these events to which it is more immediately prefixed? However “the eye-witnesses and ministers of the word” may be deemed cognizant of the preaching of the forerunner and his testimony till death, how can they establish the certainty of these details of his birth? The answer to this is found in that close connexion between the birth of John and the birth of Jesus, which the confessedly unbroken continuity of this chapter indicates. And while the Saviour’s nativity, as we shall see more fully hereafter, is a subject of which the blessed Virgin and many in the early Church that survived her, brethren of our Lord and others, were perfectly cognizant, there are none of these who must not have been well aware of the falsehood of any account of that nativity which proceeded, on merely mythical or legendary grounds, to connect and interweave the history of our Lord’s mother at that period with the details of the birth of another person whose natural kindred to the Christ they did not know. Our assertion against Strauss is, that we have in this third canonical gospel, received by the Universal Church, the consistent and credible account of a matter on which the early Christians would not bear to be deceived: and that by this, as the only authorized account, all subsequent ones are to be measured¹⁷. In furtherance of this assertion we maintain that, were the origin of this account such as Strauss pretends,—i. e. were it the unhistorical offspring of imaginations fertile in mythi,—its contents, as we must infer from all analogous instances, would be essentially different from what we read here.

¹⁶ *Critical Essay on the Gospel of St Luke*, pp. 21, 22, English translation. On what kind of ground the narrative of the next chapter is excepted from the continuity, we shall see hereafter. *Vid.* not. 13 to the next Section.

¹⁷ Thus we find the very ancient witness, St Irenæus, alleging, as the authority for this history of the Baptist’s nativity, the name of St Luke as a companion of the Apostles: “Lucas autem, sectator et discipulus Apostolorum, de Zacharia et Elizabeth, ex quibus secundum repromissionem Dei Joannes natus est, referens ait, *Erant autem justi ambo ante Deum, incedentes in omnibus mandatis et justitiis Domini sine querela. Et iterum de Zacharia dicens, Factum est autem cum sacerdotio fungeretur in ordine vicis sue, &c. &c.*” (*Adv. Hæreses*, lib. III. cap. 11.)

SECTION III.

EXAMINATION OF THE MYTHICAL VIEW OF THE HISTORY OF JOHN THE BAPTIST'S NATIVITY, FROM A COMPARISON OF IT WITH ACCOUNTS THAT ARE REALLY LEGENDARY AND FABULOUS.

IN order to judge how far this particular narration in the Gospel answers to the origin that Strauss assigns to it,—as the mere offspring in the minds of the early Christians of the idea that God's extraordinary servant must have an extraordinary nativity,—we cannot commence better than with a passage, which he terms a classical one on this matter, from the Latin *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary*. The book so entitled was first ushered to the world under the authority of three epistles, now universally considered as supposititious¹. One of

¹ So even Baronius (*Apparat. ad Annales*, num. 44), as well as Erasmus, Petavius, &c. &c. The mediæval testimony to this book, and the idea then entertained of it, is seen in the following extract: "Exstat vero quædam non usitata relatio, quæ clarissimi interpretis Hieronymi prænotatur nomine, referens beatum Matthæum post editum Evangelium ortum præfatæ Virginis atque initiamenta puerilia Jesu Christi ita obscuris manu propria obsignasse literis Hebraicis, ut nullis infidelium illud vellet patere superfluis et mordacibus rictibus (fort. ictibus): quæ tunc a prælibato interprete feruntur transportata, quibusdam obnoxe petentibus, ad linguæ Latine notitiam. Et quia hæc relatio inter S. Scripturæ canones non habetur inserta, ideo unanimis Ecclesiæ conventus in recitando aperte nec omnino eligit, nec in non recipiendo rejicit; cum nonnulla reperiantur dicta vel facta, quæ in præfata serie impossibilia videantur, quæ tamen volentibus et amantibus legere non denegat fidelium industria." Fulbertus Carnotensis, *Serm. II. de Nativitate B. Mariæ*. This, with similar testimonies from the cardinal Peter Damian and the monk Eadmer, and another yet more depreciatory of the work as apocryphal from our more ancient countryman Alcuin, may be seen in Thilo's *Prolegomena ad Cod. Apocr. N. T.* pp. xeviii—c. They prove, that in the most credulous period the Western Church never lost sight of the principle laid down by the father to whom they erroneously ascribed the translation of this legend—who, when a more ancient apocryphal book was quoted against him, said, "*Hoc quia de Scripturis non habet auctoritatem, eadem facilitate contemnitur qua probatur.*" (Hieron. *ad Matt.* xxiii. 35.) St Augustine also answers the allegation by Faustus of an apocryphal scripture, probably the original edition of this, to prove that Joachim father of the Virgin was of the tribe of Levi, not of Judah, by saying, "*Quia non est canonicum scriptum, non me constringit.*" And though writers of

these is said to be addressed to St Jerome by his known friends and correspondents Chromatius and Heliodorus, desiring his opinion of this pretended Gospel, on which they have great misgiving. The other two purport to be his replies; the latter of them containing an entire translation of the work, as it is pretended, from the Hebrew. The words following, which I have extended a little beyond Strauss's quotation, are part of an angelic address to Joachim of Nazareth, the reputed father of the blessed Virgin, who had, like Zacharias, been long childless, and his wife, Anna of Bethlehem, like himself, advanced in years:—"It is not nature but sin which is the object of God's wrath; and when he closes the womb of any, it is but that He may open it more wonderfully, that what is born may be acknowledged as the offspring not of human passion, but of divine providence. For was not Sarah, the first mother of your nation, unfruitful even to her eightieth year? Yet in her extreme old age she bare Isaac, to whom the blessing of all nations was promised anew. Rachel also, so pleasing to the Lord, so beloved by the holy Jacob, was long barren; and yet she bare Joseph, who became not only the lord of Egypt but the preserver of many nations that would have perished without him from famine. Who among the leaders of Israel was more valiant than Samson, or more holy than Samuel? Yet both of these had mothers that were long bar-

great name in the Greek Church have thought more highly than those of the West of the historical truth of so much at least of the preceding history of the Virgin and our Saviour, as was contained in the work thus proscribed by Jerome as *apocryphorum somnia*; yet we find St Chrysostom abstaining from all reference to these legends when commenting on St Matthew's early chapters: while those apocryphal books, a very numerous class, which ascribe miracles to the infant Saviour, he calls without exception *ψευδος και πλάσματα*. *Hom. xvi. in Joan.* (i. 31).

To these testimonies respecting the absence of all authority in the alleged Gospels of Infancy, &c., afforded by the great lights and champions of Christianity, I would add the testimony of one of its bitterest enemies, the Jewish author of the *Nizzachon Vetus* (p. 90, ap. Wagenseil. *Tela Ignea Satanae*), alleging against the Christians the *confessed* absence of all such miraculous works of Jesus in his earlier years, as these apocryphal works would abundantly supply; and which the Jew contends (from Isai. vii. 14, 15) ought to have been displayed from his very birth by the Immanuel there predicted. "Whereas," he proceeds, "since in the days of his childhood we saw no miracles in him, but he went on in the way of all children, we do not believe in the signs which he performed in his mature age, but say that he performed them by means of magic, as sorcerers, diviners, and enchanters, perform theirs." Assuredly the author of these words had never heard the apocryphal legends urged by Christians as of the same authority with the miracles of the canonical Gospels: nor did his own Jewish traditions lead him to regard the latter in the same light with the former, or to consider them otherwise than as historically true, while representing them, according to the blasphemy of his fathers, as performed by compact with demons.

“ren. If therefore reason does not persuade you through my
“words, believe from the fact, that long-deferred conceptions
“and births from the sterile are usually the most admirable.
“Accordingly, Anna thy wife shall bear thee a daughter, and
“thou shalt call her name Mary: she shall be, as ye have
“vowed, consecrated to the Lord from infancy, and filled with
“the Holy Ghost even from her mother’s womb. Nothing un-
“clean shall she eat or drink; nor shall her conversation be
“without, amidst popular crowds, but in the temple of the
“Lord, that nothing sinister may be either said or suspected
“of her. Therefore when she shall have grown to maturity,
“as she was herself wonderfully born of a barren mother, so
“of her, incomparably remaining a virgin, shall be born the
“Son of the Highest, who shall be called Jesus, and, according
“to the etymology of his name, shall be the Saviour of all
“nations.” (“*Peccati namque non naturæ ultor est Deus, et
ideo cum alicujus uterum claudit, ad hoc facit, ut mirabilis
denuo aperiat, ut non libidinis esse quod nascitur, sed divini
muneris cognoscatur. Prima enim gentis vestræ Sara mater
nonne usque ad octogesimum annum infœcunda fuit? Et tamen
in ultima senectutis ætate genuit Isaac, cui repromissa erat
benedictio omnium gentium. Rachel quoque tantum Domino
grata, tantumque a sancto Jacob amata, diu sterilis fuit, et
tamen Joseph genuit, non solum dominum Ægypti sed pluri-
marum gentium fame periturarum liberatorem. Quis in duci-
bus vel fortior Sampson vel sanctior Samuele? Et tamen
hi ambo steriles matres habuere. Si ergo ratio verbis meis
tibi non persuadet, crede re, dilatos diu conceptus et steriles
partus mirabiliores esse solere. Proinde Anna uxor tua pariet
tibi filiam, et vocabis nomen ejus Mariam: hæc erit, ut vovistis,
ab infantia sua Domino consecrata, et Spiritu Sancto replebi-
tur adhuc ex utero matris. Omne immundum neque mandu-
cabit neque bibet, neque inter populares forinsecus turbas, sed
in templo Domini conversatio ejus erit, ne quid de ea sinistrum
vel suspicari saltem possit vel dici. Itaque ætate procedente,
sicut ipsa mirabiliter ex sterili nascetur, ita incomparabiliter
virgo generabit Altissimi Filium qui Jesus vocabitur, secundum
nominis etymologiam salvator omnium gentium erit².”)*

² Hieronymi *Opera*, Tom. iv. p. 228 seq. ed. Mar. Victor. Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphus N. T.* pp. 17—38. Thilo, *Codex Apocryphus N. T.* pp. 319—335.

We owe thanks to our champion of mythico-philosophical interpretation for affording us this specimen of what he deems classical on his side of the question. We might enlarge on the prodigious difference in respect of external evidence between St Luke's story and that of the document just quoted: a document never received as canonical or deuterocanonical by any body of Christians, or by any individual name of the least respectability within the Church: which even in the tenth and eleventh centuries, when the great Jerome was generally believed to be its translator and editor, is spoken of as *non usitata relatio*, and moreover as alloyed with evident falsehood, by writers, such as Fulbert of Chartres³, the most disposed to credit a great part of its contents: of which even its professed editor, the Pseudo-Hieronymus, in his affected and ambiguous epistles prefixed, (so different from the perspicuous and *trenchant* manner of the father he is yet trying to personate,) leaves it doubtful whether he wishes St Matthew the Apostle or Seleucus⁴ the Manichean to be deemed the real author: lastly, one of which there is no evidence or probability of any original, Greek or Oriental, having ever existed,—however the outline of the history of Joachim and Anna, with some of the details, may be found in apocryphal books of an earlier date and celebrity. Waving the consideration of all these points, we would invite attention merely to the internal character of the above quotation, so truly illustrative, according to Strauss, of the formation of the dogmatic mythus, and ask whether that character is visible in the narration of St Luke, or whether its absence from that narrative be not as visible to all sound moral perception as its presence in the other?

³ The words of this respectable writer are given in a former note.

⁴ A mistake doubtless for Leucius Charinus, a name celebrated in the annals of heresy, and the very probable author of the body of this work (condemned therefore among the rest of his fabrications as apocryphal by Pope Gelasius): the personator of Jerome having probably done nothing more than retrench some Manichæisms, and amongst them the assertion of the Levitical and Aaronic descent of Joachim, substituting for it the descent from Judah and David. That there is good reason for ascribing ambiguity to his barbarous epistle on this head, is sufficiently proved by the fact that two such critics as Isaac Casaubon and G. J. Vossius here understand him differently, the one (*Exercitat. in Baronium*, p. 75) thinking he points out Seleucus or Leucius, the other St Matthew, as the real author (*De Genealogia J. C.* p. 34). The obscurity is of that kind which a disingenuous purpose often produces; the Pseudo-Hieronymus seeking, in case of his book not attaining the credit he desires as the work of an Apostle and Evangelist, to fall back on the Manichean author, and throw on him the blame of its falsehood and impiety.

If the two accounts of extraordinary birth, that of John the Baptist in St Luke, and of the blessed Virgin in this composition, stood on the same footing as our author supposes,—and if, agreeably to his system, the older examples of Isaac, Samson, Samuel, &c., were not only the types, but the actual sources and progenitors, of the later ones,—might we not expect some vestige of these ancient histories being as present to the mind of the authors and deliverers of the former account, as we see so abundantly in the latter? Might we not expect in the evangelical narrative something corresponding, if not to the long speech assigned to the Angel in the above extract, at least to Joachim's impassioned reference to the first of these examples, when earnestly desiring offspring, as we find in the more ancient apocryphal book commonly called the *Protevangelium Jacobi*?⁵ On Strauss's principle, the nearer we approach to the period when the mythus was forming itself, the more visible should be the reference to its original elements, the floating traditions

⁵ Καὶ ἐμνήσθη τοῦ πατριάρχου Ἀβραάμ, ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ἐσχάταις αὐτοῦ ἡμέραις ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ Θεὸς υἱὸν τὸν Ἰσαάκ· καὶ ἐλυπήθη Ἰωακείμ σφόδρα, καὶ οὐκ ἐφάνη τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔδωκεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐρημον, καὶ ἐπηξεν τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ, καὶ ἐνήστευσεν ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα καὶ νύκτας τεσσαράκοντα, λέγων ἐν ἑαυτῷ· οὐ καταβήσονται οὐτ' ἐπὶ βρωτῶν οὐτ' ἐπὶ ποτῶν, ἕως ἂν ἐπισκέψηται με Κύριος ὁ Θεός μου, καὶ ἔσται μοι ἡ εὐχή μου βρῶμα καὶ πόμα. *Protevangelium* apud Fabric. *Cod. Pseud.* p. 69. Thilo, pp. 168, 170.

Here we have as great a variety of Scriptural examples meeting in a single new subject as the most ardent mythicizer could desire. For beside Abraham's expectation (the only one expressly mentioned), we have the lament of the childless Hannah, the retirement and quadragesimal fast of Elijah, the Psalmist mingling tears with his drink, (to which I would add, the Saviour finding his meat and drink in devotion to the Father), all accumulated on this one Joachim; but not, as the Straussian hypothesis would have it, by the floating imaginations of a whole people, but by the tasteless and futile brain of a single *μυθοποιός*. It deserves notice, that though the author of this silly book appears, from his concluding paragraph, to wish to pass for St James the Just, he does not venture to say more than Ἐγὼ Ἰάκωβος ἔγραψα τὴν ἱστορίαν ταύτην ἐν Ἱερουσολύμοις, with a reference to his escape from Herod Agrippa's persecution of the Church in that city, without adding, as the author of a more amplified legend afterwards did, "Ego Jacobus filius Joseph*:" and that his purpose, in thus writing like the first bishop of Jerusalem, has escaped the notice of those simple-minded men among the Fathers, by whom his work was first noticed and attained celebrity. One of the earliest of these, Eustathius of Antioch, in the 4th century, quoting largely from this legend, speaks of the author as merely Ἰάκωβός τις, which is certainly not the way in which he would mention the eminent Apostle our Lord's brother (*Comment. in Hexaëmeron*, p. 70. ed. Allatii). And though some eminent writers of the Eastern Church (unlike Jerome and Augustine in the Western) attached faith to the legends of this book, it is only the later copyists who affix to it the name of St James the Less, or the absurd title of *Proterangelium*, which was chosen out of several others by its first modern editor and translator, the injudicious Gul. Postel.

* *Historia de Nativitate Mariæ et de Infantia Salvatoris*. Thilo, pp. 340—400. This parentage of St James, of the inaccuracy of which we shall have occasion to speak in the following chapter, is very general in the false Gospels, as in the opinion of many Fathers of the Greek Church.

of the whole nation: how is it then that this reference, so prominent in the latter legends, is altogether absent from St Luke? We see in him a simple determination to state the main particulars of the event he had heard. All embellishment or even indication of the striking points of the narrative, and all reference to earlier things resembling them, are equally beside his purpose and his thought. The name of Elias in *his* angelic message occurs as a declared model of the spirit that was to animate the child to be born, not as a precedent of the birth, to which the Tishbite's history affords no resemblance: it is part of the recorded event, the angelic *annunciation* of John, which they who knew the things "from the beginning" had handed down to the writer. He proceeds, without any of that amplification or fanciful effort at exhausting the particulars of the event which so characterize the apocryphal legends, to relate with severe simplicity the miracle which gave to a venerable couple, in extreme age, the designated forerunner of the Incarnate God. And when further pursuing the narrative to the event utterly without parallel, in which the Israelite honour of holy marriage and human paternity yields to the mysterious necessities of man's redemption,—the birth from a purely Virgin mother of that Divine Saviour himself,—how strongly contrasted is his mode of linking these merely as sacred facts in his narration with that of the author before us, and every legendary intruder on the same field! This contrast of the early narrators with all others is inexplicable but on one principle; viz. that in Christianity, unlike mythology of every description, the *objective fact* is the sole source of faith; the fact definite in itself, springing up in a well-marked historic period of the world's development, set forth with the earnestness of mere faithful record by its first authoritative communicators,—and only when subsequent imaginations, less imbued with the spirit of its truth, have interfered with its story, made to bear the remotest semblance of fable.

Were the case otherwise,—were the Scriptures, which the Universal Church has received from the period next following that of oral communication from Christ's Apostles, instead of being rightly referred to the special influence and direction of His Spirit, conceived to stand on equal ground with what Strauss has pronounced classical on this matter,—we should not

fail to find in them other marks, beside vain and puerile amplification, by which their non-historical character might be demonstrated. Such, even in the above short apocryphal extract, is the announcement of Mary's education from three years of age as a sacred Virgin in the temple of the Lord, and under the special care of the priests; by whom, according to this and the other legends with which the painters have made us familiar, she was after ten years more betrothed to Joseph; a divination of rods, followed by a celestial sign, pointing him out to the spiritual guides of Israel as the appointed protector of that royal stem of Jesse from whom the Christ the Saviour was to spring⁶. One of these legends, the so-called Protevangelium, represents Zacharias the husband of Elisabeth as the high priest to whom the charge of Mary especially belonged, and his dumbness consequent on his angelic vision as coincident in time as well as place with the angelic annunciation now made to Mary⁷ (i. e. not at Nazareth, but in the temple of Jerusalem!). The same book tells at the close how Zacharias was slain by Herod, unknown to the people of Israel, between the porch of the temple and the altar⁸, because at the time of the infant massacre he could not reveal the hiding-place of his son John, with whom Elisabeth had fled to a mountain that miraculously concealed them. The same book had also told us that the father of Mary, though of the house of David, wore the golden plate of the high-priest, with which, as bearing Aaron's signet upon it (Exod. xxviii. 36—38), he had the power of ascertaining whether his sins were remitted or retained⁹. And another legend, the Arabic history of Joseph the Carpenter, extends the sacerdotal character to this latter person also, though selected, according to the same story, from the royal line of Judah and David to be the

⁶ Vid. Thilo, *Cod. Apocr.* pp. 10—13, 198—212 (*Protevang.*), 326—334, 352—365.

⁷ Ib. pp. 204 and 214 seq.

⁸ Id. pp. 260—267. [παρὰ τὰ πρόθυρα τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου, καὶ] περὶ τὸ διὰφραγμα ἐφονεύθη Ζαχαρίας. From this passage (thus variously read) of the Protevangelium arose the belief entertained even by St Basil, St Gregory of Nyssa, and others, that it was the father of the Baptist (and not the Zacharias of 2 Chron. xxiv. 20, 21, nor the Prophet so named, nor the then future Zacharias of Josephus, *Bell. Jud. Lib. iv. c. 6*), who is meant by our Lord in his denunciation to the Pharisees as their victim in Matt. xxiii. 35: an idea justly rejected by St Jerome *ad loc.* as the offspring of "apocryphal dreams." His words respecting the absence of Scripture authority for this legend were quoted in note 1 to this Section.

⁹ *Protevang.* § v. (Thilo, p. 188).

husband of the Virgin Mother: for it states that this very Joseph of Bethlehem-Judah, on account of his eminent learning, had been made a priest in the temple of the Lord¹⁰. Of statements like these,—which their utter contrariety to Jewish law and usage would alone convict of fable,—the apocryphal histories of the holy family, even the oldest of them, are full. Nor was it possible that such errors should be wholly escaped, when events of which Judæa was the theatre were excogitated by the imaginations of Christians of any period since the great dispersion. When the Church and the Synagogue stood markedly separate and opposed to each other, the knowledge of what was peculiar to the Mosaic œconomy becoming daily more indistinct to the Jewish convert and his descendants, while from the minds of the mass of Christians it was absent altogether,—when in some even of the most scripturally learned of the Fathers we find inaccuracies of conception in what relates to matters of Israelitic antiquity¹¹, and even the Nazarene Church,

¹⁰ Cap. II. (Thilo, p. 8): كَانَ إِنْسَانٌ أَسَمَهُ يَوْسُفَ مِنْ أَهْلِ

بَيْتِ لَحْمٍ مَدِينَةِ يَهُودَا وَمَدِينَةِ دَاوُدَ هَذَا كَانَ قَدْ تَعَلَّمَ الْحِكْمَةَ

وَالْعِلْمَ جَيِّدًا وَجَعَلَ كَاهِنًا فِي هَيْكَلِ الرَّبِّ. [“There was a man

of the name of Joseph, born of the family of Bethlehem in Judah, the city of David. He being well instructed in knowledge and learning was made a priest in the temple of the Lord.”] The Koran (Sur. 3) repeats nearly all the above Christian fables, only making the *παβδόλογος* to be, not for the choice of a husband for Mary, but of the priest who should educate her, and issuing in the election of Zacharias! Also, while calling her mother Hannah, as in the legends above, it calls the father, not Joachim, but *عمران*, *i. e.* Amram, *עמרם*, the name of the father of the older Mariam, sister of Moses and Aaron. See Maraccii *Alcoran*, pp. 109—117. Sale, Vol. I. p. 62 seq.

¹¹ E. g. the mode of accounting for the absence of the blessed Virgin's genealogy by saying (as do St Chrysostom, St Hilary, and others) that her Davidic descent was necessarily implied in that of Joseph, because it was unlawful to marry into another tribe: an observation, the unsoundness of which is eagerly seized on by the blaspheming Jews (as may be seen in the above-cited *Nizzachon Vetus*, p. 95, &c.), and which may be confuted from the instances of the New, as well as of the Old, Testament. We may add the notion, expressed by St Hilary, St Ambrose, &c., that while the first Evangelist deduces Christ's regal descent through Solomon, the third traces his prophetic and priestly descent through Nathan: which, if meaning any thing more than a mere verbal coincidence of the name of Nathan the son of David with that of the eminent prophet who conveyed the divine promise to him, is as inconsistent with the fact, as with the first-mentioned notion (Hilar. in *Matt.* i. 1; Ambros. in *Luc.* iii.; Epiphanius, *Hæres.* xxix. num. 4; Suidas in voce *Ἰησοῦς*). It is not therefore quite correct to say, as

where the ancient rites were to a great degree preserved, is not free from similar confusions¹²,—if this is seen in faithful historians or candid and sincere expositors of the Scriptures,—what must be the case with the *mythical creations* of the same period, when such began to be framed by other minds from dogmatic ideas alone, and adapted to the scenes of original Christian history in Palestine? It is surely not too much to say that incongruities and contradictions to plain truth, such as we have seen in the apocryphal gospels, were then not only likely, but *sure*, to occur at every turn. But all the subtlety of the ablest adversaries of Christianity has never been able to point out any incongruity of this description, or even the least repugnance to the condition and circumstances of Judaism, in any of the canonical Gospels. And what then is the inevitable conclusion, but that the authorised record, no less than the historical basis, of the great truths of Christianity, is concluded within the period of which the last years of Herod were the commencement and the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus was the close?—a period within which not even our author, with all his views of the extreme rapidity of such formations, would venture to assert the possibility of the creation of such a fabric from dogmatic mythus.

And here I would extend the observation to that part especially of the history and chapter now before us, which has seemed to some modern critics, and Schleiermacher¹³ among the

Schleiermacher does, p. 28 (English Transl.), that none but heretics introduced that idea of a partly Levitical descent of our Lord. The difference is that the Manicheans asserted this descent of *Mary*: the above orthodox persons of *Joseph*, but partially only.

¹² See Grabe, *Spicileg. Patr.* Tom. I. p. 157 [*Testamentum Symeonis*], 'Ἀναστήσει γὰρ Κύριος ἐκ τοῦ Λευὶ ἀρχιερέα, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Ἰουδα βασιλέα, Θεὸν καὶ ἄνθρωπον οὕτως σώσει πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ τὸ γένος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ. It is from the Nazarene school that the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs proceed, from one of which we have this declaration, at variance with the Apostolical Epistle addressed to the Hebrews, ch. vii. ver. 14, &c. Some particulars told by Hegesippus of St James the Just appear to belong to the same category (ap. Euseb. *H. E.* II. c. 23): but that history, notwithstanding the censure of Scaliger and some later critics, is yet in its main features historically true.

¹³ *Critical Essay on St Luke*, p. 24 seq. And the conclusion from these three effusions, that this is "rather a little poetical work than a properly historical narrative," is the principal reason for the strange dissection of the first chapter, as an independent composition, from the second. The reason for denying a connexion apparently so obvious on the face of both chapters, is found in this one circumstance (p. 31):—that "there was here (in ch. ii.) an equal opportunity of dilating in lyrical effusions, as well in the person of the angels as in that of the shepherds, since, according to ver. 20, they return *δοξάζοντες καὶ αἰνοῦντες τὸν Θεόν*. Yet has no advantage been taken of this opportunity; and we can THEREFORE

number, to exclude a strictly historical interpretation, and require a mythical one. I mean the hymns, or lyrical effusions, as the last-mentioned able writer chooses to call them, which are said to burst from the lips of Elisabeth, of the Blessed Virgin, and of Zacharias, on occasion of these signal mercies. The Evangelist does not directly say of the hymn of Zacharias,—as he does say of that of the Virgin in his house, immediately after her kinswoman's reverent salutation, and that of Simeon in the temple in the following chapter,—that it was pronounced on the spot; i. e. before the friends and neighbours assembled for his son's circumcision. But the critics who so anxiously avail themselves of this circumstance, as though the supposition thus escaped were incredible or inconceivable,—who so carefully allow the time supposed necessary for composing or taking down in writing this poetical effusion¹⁴,—seem, no less than the adversaries, to carry the ideas of a very different age into their conception of God's ancient people, and to miscalculate, even on psychological principles, the effect on them of events like these, which assured them that the long sought salvation of God was now about to appear, and that its pledges were already before their eyes. There is no need to summon to our conception any extraordinary powers of improvisation in the speaker, or of memory in the hearers, where strict prosodical laws¹⁵ did not, as in contemporary India or Greece, limit the freedom of poetical speech, pouring itself forth in their Aramaic dialect, as in the ancient Hebrew, in mutually responding parallel clauses; a form no less strongly impressible on their recollection than that of metre on ours. How naturally strains like these, resembling the less highly wrought and imaginative part of the ancient prophecies, would suggest themselves to a pious Jew on occasions of strong excitement, and take the place of prosaic language for the time, we have a memorable instance in the book

recognize neither the same author, nor the prevalence of a poetical character, since this would NECESSARILY have occasioned the introduction of more lyrical passages."

¹⁴ So Kuinoel on Luke i. 67, arguing from that verse following vv. 65, 66. But these two verses are more truly considered by Schleiermacher and Strauss as parenthetical.

¹⁵ See Lowth's 3d Prælection, with Michaelis's Note (5), especially the conclusion of both [*De Sacra Poesi Hebræorum*, Vol. i. pp. 39—42, Vol. ii. p. 37. ed. Oxon. 1810]. There are sufficient means yet in our possession for the detection of strict laws, if any such existed: but what the ablest have failed to discover, with all the facilities that the certain divisions of the acrostic Psalms and Threni supply, may be fairly set down as non-existent.

of Acts (iv. 24, seq.); where joy at the liberation of the Apostles of Christ, and the general acknowledgment of their miracle in the face of opposed authority, produced from the whole assembly of Christians a burst of praise far above the level of ordinary speech, but not beyond what was familiar as the language of devotion in the Psalms to every devout Israelite. I do not speak this as in any way superseding the operation of the Holy Spirit in all these instances, sublimating the affections, and furnishing as well as guiding the thoughts, of the several speakers. I am merely desirous to evince that in this, as in all other respects, the Divine Agent operates in a manner accordant to the nature of the human faculties, purified and exalted by truths before received; and to obviate the self-contradictory objections or cavils which our author and others have raised against the effusion of praise now before us. Strauss says, with Schleiermacher, that it is equally improbable that Zacharias should first use his speech in pronouncing this canticle, and that after commencing it he should fail to be interrupted by the joy and astonishment of the assembly¹⁶. But with all due deference to these sagacious critics, or to the degree of sympathy with the faithful expectants of Israel which should entitle either of them to decide what must be those persons' conduct on any given occasion, one may be permitted to entertain a different conception, possibly of no less authority than theirs: to think somewhat *more* highly of the force of joyful enthusiasm on him who had received the divine benefit, and *less* of its power in others to overbear and destroy the no less natural feelings of respectful interest, or rather of reverential awe, with which the hymn of the restored priest would be heard as an oracle of God.

But it is to the subject-matter of these hymns—(for the observation now made on the hymn of Zacharias applies also to those of Mary and Simeon)—that I would principally direct attention, as constituting it no less than an impossibility that these should be the mythic creation of after times, merely reflected back on their supposed authors by the Judaico-Christian sentiments since developed. The internal character of these

¹⁶ Strauss, Vol. I. pp. 146, 7. The considerations by which this speculation is obviated will be equally good against a profane observation subsequently made by Strauss: viz. that if the Holy Spirit were the inditer of the Virgin's effusion of thanks, we might expect in it more originality, *i. e.* less resemblance to that of 1 Sam. ii. 1—10.

hymns, I repeat, forbids this. It precludes the supposition of the Evangelist himself, even in the early stage of Christian history which we confidently ascribe to him, bearing any share in their authorship, or doing more than record these effusions, which the traditions of the holy families concerned had most probably preserved with care. For, observe the strain of sentiment, purely Israelitic throughout, which the hope of the coming Christ, afforded either through the precursor or immediately, awakens in these highly favoured persons. It is the raising up the horn of salvation in the house of David¹⁷ which is gratefully commemorated; the approach of the expected King from his royal line, who should give security from all foes, agreeably to God's ancient promise of the land to Abraham and his seed for evermore: a mercy which, though not surveyed, as by a carnal Jew it would be, on the mere side of plenty, or riches, or vengeance over oppressors, but principally and indeed solely as affording free scope for that fearless service of God which was the delight of all the faithful Israelites,—that in holiness and righteousness of life they might walk before God and his anointed King perpetually,—is yet in its frame-work and material essentially Judaical still. There is, indeed, a glimpse of the highest blessing, *the knowledge of salvation through the remission of sins*, when he of whom the child of Zacharias was the herald should be manifested to those who sat in darkness and the shadow of death. But this blessing¹⁸, which the song of Simeon expands further to a light to lighten the Gentiles, as well as the peculiar glory of God's ancient people, and which the hymn of the blessed Virgin (like that of Hannah) connects especially with the disappointment of the proud expectants in Israel, and the exaltation of the lowly and meek, is spoken of in all as one yet to be revealed. The view yet afforded even in this far-advanced period is but a dawn or a day-spring, dimly, though sufficiently, guiding to the path of truth and peace. Nor does the reference in these Canticles to the particulars and the means of human redemption proceed beyond this species of anticipation. The hymns differ in no other respect from the ordinary tenour of the Psalms and other ancient predictions of the same mercies, than in the announcement of their *time* as now at length

¹⁷ Luke i. 68—79.¹⁸ Luke ii. 29—32; i. 46—55.

close at hand; and the designation of the *instruments* of their approaching but yet unreachd fulfilment as now actually present. Could this have been the case if they were written in the times of Christianity? The Church, we know, ever uses these evangelical hymns, as she does the Psalms of David, in her daily offices, and understands them as pointing with most express reference to the crucified and risen Lord. But the question is not how she understands them so written, but whether she could so have written them? They who saw in the Incarnate Godhead, vanquishing death by death, reascending to heaven, and dispensing all power from the right hand of the Father, a reign more glorious and more secure than any earthly image whatever could adequately reach,—could they have failed to exhibit some *explicit* statement of this, bursting through the more sensible imagery with which it is encompassed, as we see continually in the visions of the Apocalypse¹⁹? And those again in the early Church who still retained in view the ideas of the elder covenant, who thought of David's throne as yet to be occupied by the Lord who was crucified, and the hopes of all the faithful both now and of old as powerfully directed to this species of consummation,—could they have forborne some indication of the intended concealment of the coming reign in an intermediate period of humiliation and suffering, instead of setting it forth, like these hymns, as arising directly and uninterruptedly from the manifestation of the Prince of Peace and his forerunner? Either way, conceived as the work of a spiritualizing or of a Judaizing Christian, the origination of hymns of this strain solely from the ideas of the subsequent time is alike inconceivable. And as little will their structure consist with the supposition of a dramatic purpose in the shaper of the mythus, carefully ascribing to Zacharias and the rest such ideas only as suited their stage of religious development. We have many such specimens of religious fiction, and assumption of the persons of ancient writers; but none in which the authors²⁰ have

¹⁹ See e.g. Rev. i. 13—18; v. 5—14; vii. 13, 14, &c. &c.

²⁰ Compare them for instance with the following words, put into the mouth of a much more ancient person than Zacharias,—even his ancestor, the Patriarch Levi,—by an ingenious, and by no means dishonest writer, the author of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, a Jewish Christian of the age of Adrian (for his Hebreo-Hellenistic style, the language of the LXX. and of the New Testament, became extinct soon after that period). The patriarch is addressing his descendants respecting things to come, and says, § iv.: “Now therefore know that

not thought it essential to the prophetic character in those they would personate, to introduce much more than can possibly be found here of the *explicit* notions of their own day. We may

the Lord will execute judgment on the sons of men, when the rocks being rent and the sun extinguished, and the waters dried up, and the fire quivering, and all creation being disturbed, and the invisible spirits dissolved, and hell spoiled at the time of the passion of the most High, men unbelieving shall abide in their iniquities: wherefore they shall be adjudged to punishment. Therefore (said the Angel of God to me) the Highest hath heard thy prayer, to separate thee from unrighteousness, and to be to Him a son and a servant and a minister of His presence: as a shining light of knowledge shalt thou shine in Jacob, and as the sun shalt thou be to all the seed of Israel. And a blessing shall be given to thee, and to all thy seed, until the Lord shall visit all nations in the bowels (of mercies) of his Son for evermore. Nevertheless thy children shall lay hands upon Him to crucify Him. And therefore have counsel and understanding been given to thee, that thou mayest give thy sons to understand concerning Him: for he that blesseth Him shall be blessed, but they that curse Him shall perish." Again, § xviii.: "And after vengeance has come upon them (the evil priests) from the Lord, the priesthood shall fail: and then shall the Lord raise up a new Priest, to whom all the words of the Lord shall be revealed: and he shall execute the judgment of truth in the earth in the multitude of days.....The heavens shall be opened, and from the temple of glory shall consecration with the paternal voice proceed upon him, as from Abraham the father of Isaac. And the glory of the Highest shall be pronounced upon Him, and the Spirit of understanding and sanctification shall rest upon Him in the water. He shall impart the majesty of the Lord to His sons in truth for ever: nor shall there be any succession to Him for ages and ages for evermore. And in His priesthood shall the Gentiles be multiplied in knowledge upon the earth, and shall be enlightened through the grace of the Lord: but Israel shall be diminished through ignorance, and darkened in tribulation.....And He shall open the gates of Paradise, and stay the menacing sword placed there against Adam, and give the saints to eat of the tree of life, and the Spirit of holiness shall be upon them. And Beliar (Satan) shall be bound by Him; and he shall give power to his children to trample upon evil spirits." Vide Grabe, *Spicileg. Patr.* Tom. I. pp. 160, 161, and 171, 172.

Now this author has no intention of deceiving any one by his composition: he is merely from his own time, i. e. from the early days of the Gospel, carrying himself back to the age of the twelve Patriarchs, in whose name, and with a careful observance of the propriety of their times, he writes a dissuasive against as many pernicious vices: and, in the case of the father of the priestly tribe, he is imagining that foresight of the future blessing of the world, of which God has never suffered His chosen people to be wholly destitute. And in executing this purpose, which we may truly call a mythico-dogmatic one, we have seen how he cannot avoid attributing to Levi an explicit knowledge both of the details of Christ's baptism (accompanied with the Paternal voice and the descent of the Spirit), and of the circumstances attendant on the crucifixion, such as we find not possessed by the Prophets who spoke most fully and most graphically of the inauguration and the passion of the Redeemer (e. g. Ps. ii. xxii.; Is. xi. liii). Moreover, he cannot avoid making the Patriarch announce the calling of the Gentiles, and the supersession of his own descendants, in a far more precise and specific manner than we find those facts enunciated even in the most evangelical of the Prophets. What was thus inevitable to this author, when ascribing to Levi the presentiment of truths so well known in their detail to himself, would have been doubly so to St Luke, had his object been similar; i. e. to supply to the immediate father of our Lord's precursor the sentiments proper to *his* circumstances, and to the far closer contact with the same truths which the annunciation of his son's birth afforded *him*. It is impossible but that some detail analogous to those in the preceding extracts must have been imputed by the author of the mythus to Zacharias: impossible but that, as there, he must have inserted in the hymn some intimation of the literal Israel's rejection, the excision from the actual blessings of the coming kingdom of those to whom it was especially proclaimed.

mark this tendency in the religious imaginings even of our own critically disposed age²¹; and it is certainly not without example in those of earlier Christian antiquity²². Let then the works be carefully examined which are the product either of pious imagination or of presumptuous and unhallowed fiction exerted on the personages of sacred story, and compared with the tenour of the canticles called *Benedictus*, *Magnificat*, and *Nunc dimittis*: and this is the conviction we would maintain as the result of the comparison. Such a vision of coming power and light and majesty as these hymns indicate,—a picture so vivid as to the blessedness of the approaching reign, so indistinct and void as to the means by which that blessedness was to be realized,—in which, while the view of faith is so concentrated on the Source of salvation then initially manifested, the whole detail of His acts and the particulars of His redemption continue closely wrapped up in the figure and symbol which represented them in the ancient dispensation,—such a vision could belong only to the

²¹ The instances of this are without number: but it may be sufficient to refer to a work which has attained great popularity in certain circles of England as well as Germany, "*Elijah the Tishbite*, by Dr F. A. Krummacher," and especially to the communication he supposes the prophet to have made to the widow of Sarepta when he raised her son, representing him to have produced *by it* her confession in 1 Kings xvii. 24—viz. an *explicit* statement of the sacrifice and merits of the future Divine Victim for sin, and of her need of their personal application, by which she was turned from being merely a devout person to what the author esteems a totally different thing, a daughter of Abraham's faith". This, which is imagined not only without Scripture, but in plain repugnance to it, is no uncommon instance. The same tone of mind which has led so many to disrelish the use of the ancient Psalms in the worship of the Church, and to substitute for them what they deem evangelic accommodations or paraphrases, professing in their slender expression to give the entire substance of what those sublime strains adumbrated to them of old, and far more to us, leads also to an impatience at conceiving the ancient worthies themselves destitute of the explicit information we possess, and a determination at all events to ascribe it to them.

²² One cause, however, far more effectual than critical sagacity, kept the most imaginative of the orthodox ancients from excesses of the kind quoted in the last note: and that is, their vivid perception of a great Christian truth, which a considerable proportion of our modern theology tends to obscure: I mean the superiority, in kind as well as degree, of the grace conferred under the sacraments of the Gospel, to that possessed under the elder dispensation:—where, as the Apostolical Epistles distinctly teach, there was no express spiritual remission exhibited, and where the restoring mercy of God was apprehended not *explicitly*, but *implicitly*. (The interpretation of Heb. xi. 4, now so popular, which gives to its *πίστει* an explicitness as to the remote future unlike all the rest of the chapter, and makes its *παινοῦ θυσίαν* to mean an animal sacrifice *as such*, was never embraced, or so much as conceived or imagined, by any ancient.)

* § iv. last par. It is singular, but not uninteresting to remark, that the same name, with which this and a multitude of other specimens of an unhealthy though earnest piety have been associated of later years, was attached in 1805 to one of the most decided preludes to Strauss; viz. an application to the Gospels of the epic character that De Wette had applied to the Pentateuch; and a substitution for literal history in its events, of purely æsthetic symbols: "*F. A. Krummacher über den Geist und die Form der Evang. Geschichte in historischer und æsthetischer Hinsicht*." This I learn from Parcau, *De Mythica S. Codicis Interpretatione*, pp. 36, 37, 98, 99.

particular position assigned to it in the boundary of the old and new covenants. The projection of a vision like this from the point of view under the New Testament is what cannot in sound reason or just criticism be maintained: with the possession of such explicit knowledge as even Christ's earthly life supplied,—but still more His death and the events that followed,—such reserve, united to such imagined anticipation, were to an earnest mind unnatural, to a deceitful mind impossible.

SECTION IV.

ANSWER TO STRAUSS'S OBJECTIONS AGAINST THE SUPERNATURAL HISTORY OF JOHN'S NATIVITY.

OUR view of the subject has led us to the conclusion, that Strauss's final hypothesis, attributing a merely mythical character to the introductory narration in St Luke's Gospel, is just as untenable as the rationalistic explanation he had confuted before: that it is inconsistent alike with the character of the document on which it is founded, and with the nature of stories thus formed, which are all necessarily and inevitably of a different complexion from this. But that this proof may redound to the benefit of the actual Christian belief, i. e. to the truth of the history as it stands in the Gospel, and not either of the previously abandoned middle way of naturalist explication, or the more shocking but more consistent hypothesis of deliberate and sustained falsehood, we must now recur to the reasons that were summarily urged by our author against the first scheme as impossible, and evince their gratuitousness and insufficiency.

The main argument against the literal truth of these events is founded, as we have seen, on the angelic appearance. Without repeating here a discussion already touched upon in the first part of this inquiry¹, respecting the credibility of the existence of super-human beings in general, I would notice the particular objection on which Strauss lays the chief stress in this place,—inferring from the name and designation of Gabriel a later and less divine original for this popular article of the Jewish creed of the time than that which supernaturalists suppose to exist in the Mosaic revelation². One might expect, in order to found any serious refutation upon this, that some

¹ See above, pp. 86, 87.

² Strauss, I. 128.

inconsistency or *contradiction* might be indicated between these notions of the angelic hierarchy and what we find in the law and the prophets preceding the captivity in Babylon. But what do we find in the earlier Scriptures to convict of inconsistency, or even of novelty, the mention here of "Gabriel that standeth in the presence of God"? In the vision of Isaiah (ch. vi.), nearly two centuries before the captivity, he beheld the Almighty on an exalted throne surmounted by the six-winged Seraphim. At a similar interval of time before this, the vision of Micaiah³ represents *the LORD sitting on his throne, and all the host of heaven* (כָּל־צְבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם) *standing by Him on his right hand and on his left*. We find, some centuries again before this, in the book of Joshua, the mention of one who appears to the leader of Israel, and describes himself as holding a place of archangelic pre-eminence over that army, as *Captain* or *Prince of the host of the LORD* (שֵׁר־צְבָא־יְהוָה)⁴. And in the book of Job, older than all these, we have the Angels, or (as they are there termed) the sons of God, presenting themselves before the LORD on the seat of his heavenly state, and the malevolent Accuser also coming among them from walking up and down in the earth⁵. With such indications, in the oldest of the sacred books, of a doctrine identical with that of Zechariah⁶ and others after the captivity respecting the ministry of the angelic host before God and in behalf of men,—so that there is nothing in Daniel, respecting even the command of these hosts and the championship of Israel assigned to the leader, of which we have not the actual substance in the books of Moses and of Joshua,—it is strange to see with what confident credulity this false statement of the post-Babylonian doctrine, as an entire innovation, is adopted by one neological

³ 1 Kings xxii. 19—22, 2 Chron. xviii. 18—21.

⁴ Joshua v. 13—15. In expressing the belief that this leader of the heavenly host, who conducted the people of Israel into Canaan, and vanquished their enemies before them, was a created angel, i.e. the Michael of Daniel, to whom the same functions with respect to Israel are ascribed,—and not, as many have supposed, the Divine Word or Angel of the Presence, who appeared in various manners to Jacob in Peniel, to Moses in the flaming bush and elsewhere,—I follow the general consent of ancient interpreters, and what appears to me the most obvious sense of the Scripture. As the interpretation of this passage is of some moment (though yet by no means indispensably necessary) in the argument against those who would have no Archangels before the captivity, I will state the reasons on both sides at greater length in Appendix E.

⁵ Job i. 6 seq., and ii. 1 seq. (coll. xxxviii. 7).

⁶ Zech. i. 10, 11; iii. 1; vi. 5, &c.

writer from another. Whatever difference in this respect may be observed in the Scriptures of the later period, it is assuredly one of further development, not of inconsistency or contrariety: and since none among orthodox Jews or Christians have pretended to limit the ancient revelation to Moses, or to make the prophecy to cease from Israel till two full centuries after the return from Babylon, this circumstance can occasion no difficulty whatever to the pious believer. We might enlarge further on the indications of gradation or specific difference implied in the terms Cherubim, Seraphim, and others of the most ancient scripture; and on the remarkable circumstance, that among the ten names by which, rightly or wrongly, the various orders of created celestial beings are denoted by Maimonides and other later Jewish writers⁷, there is not one that bears the impress of the period, in which ideas formed by residence in Babylon could gain prevalence: they are all taken from those inspired writers, of whom Ezekiel is the last in order of time, who were born before that period, and were unaffected by it.

But the *proper name* Gabriel is of itself enough to determine the novelty, according to our author: because the Jerusalem Talmud, often cited by Lightfoot and others on this passage of the Gospels, states expressly, "R. Simeon the son of Lachish says that the names of the Angels in the land of Israel ascended from Babylon. For before this it had been said simply,

⁷ These names are enumerated in the first book of the *Yad Hazakah* of Moses ben Maimon, treating on the Foundations of the Law, ch. II. § 8 (p. 136 ed. Scherzer. Lips. 1705, or pp. 5, 84, of the recent edition of Bernard), and are the following:—1. חיות־הקרשׁ, *Animantia Sancta*, the highest of all. 2. אופנים, Wheels (of the divine Chariot or Mercaba). 3. אראלים, Ambassadors, or Lion-like ones. 4. חשמלים, Amber-coloured, or Electric ones. 5. שרפים, Seraphim, or burning ones. 6. מלאכים, Angels, or Messengers. 7. אלהים, Gods. 8. בני־אלהים, Sons of God. 9. כרובים, Cherubim, on which the Divine Majesty rides. 10. אישים, Men (as in the above-cited passage of Joshua and other places). Now though of these names some are mere synonymous repetitions or epithets; and of some, as the 3rd and 4th, the application to angels is doubtful, resting on Rabbinical interpretations of Scripture (Ezek. viii. 2; xliii. 15, &c.), yet others undoubtedly express distinct orders of beings: and the *Scriptures from which they are taken are the book of Job, the Psalms of David, and the prophecies of Isaiah and Ezekiel*. And that the names derived from these pure ancient sources were the recognized titles of angelic orders among the Jews in the evangelic era, we have a singular proof in the apocryphal book of Enoch written about a century before; in which (ch. lx. ver. 13) we have an enumeration of the celestial hierarchy, consisting of the 9th, the 5th, the 2nd, and the 6th of Maimonides' list, the 6th being again subdivided. "The Cherubim, and Seraphim, and Ophanin (or Wheels), and all the Angels of power, and all the Angels of the Lords, (Æthiopice חיל מלאכת חיל כרבא ושרפא ואפנ וכל מלאכת חיל) . . . shall raise their voices and bless &c. &c." Lawrence; Book of Enoch, p. 66 (Æth. p. 61).

ONE OF THE SERAPHIM *flew to me*: THE SERAPHIM *stood before Him*, Isai. vi. &c.: but afterwards THE MAN GABRIEL, Dan. ix. 21, and MICHAEL YOUR PRINCE, Dan. x. 21⁸. The Rabbinical writer is here alleging an unquestionable truth, of which every reader of the Scriptures must have always been aware: but it were greatly to distort his meaning, and (what is of more importance) to misrepresent the real fact and phenomenon to be observed, to substitute for this the assertion that these names of the chief angels were borrowed from the heathen mythologies found in Babylon, or even (which is all that can be with real probability maintained) that the idea of naming the angels was taken by the Hebrew writers from those mythologies. The former assertion has its sufficient and ample refutation in the names themselves: which are not only Semitic, but of that Semitic form which is distinctively and peculiarly Hebrew, as distinguished even from the Aramaic of Babylon⁹ in which the greater part of the book of the Prophet of the captivity is written,—and of course excluding still more the Zendic names (springing from the totally different Indo-German stem of languages), which belong to that particular system of mythology from which it is Strauss's pleasure to deduce them. The latter assertion, in the absence of its only unequivocal proof, the names themselves, of which none can find a vestige in either Chaldean or Persian heathenism, is very lamely proved by our author. He quotes the words of the angel Raphael to Tobias and his father, describing himself nearly as Gabriel to Zacharias, *except for the specification of number*, as "one of the seven holy angels who . . . enter in before the glory of the Holy One" (Tobit xii. 15); and then asserts that this number of seven Archangels is borrowed from the seven Amshaspands of Zoroaster. But allowing the substantial agreement of doctrine in our canonical narrative and that pious and pleasing story, respecting the high ministering spirits that attend more peculiarly on the Divine Majesty,—and even extend-

⁸ Vid. Lightfoot, *Horæ Heb. et Talmud. in Evang. Lucæ*, p. 492, ed. Leusden.

⁹ The first of these names, Michael, מִיכָאֵל, "Quis sic ut Deus?" would stand in the Chaldee dialect Manchaelah, מַן כַּאֵל (Arab. مَنْ كَالِه). It need scarcely be remarked how remote is this name from the appearance of derivation from any Pagan system. Does it not seem expressly designed by the Divine Spirit as a protest against idolatry in every shape or degree? The same observation may be applied, though in a somewhat lower degree, to the other archangelic names.

ing that coincidence to the designation of seven, neither more nor less, which other less venerable statements might lead us to enlarge to seventy, and others to contract to four¹⁰,—still, allowing this to the testimony of the book of Tobit, supported as it is *apparently* by far higher authority in Zech. iv. 10, Rev. i. 4, viii. 2, we utterly deny and repudiate the unproved position of De Wette and Strauss, that this belief of the good Israelites in the period following the captivity was derived from the Magian belief of the Amshaspands. For the spirits called by that name in the books of Zoroaster are no otherwise made seven than by including with the six highest of the good genii their creator Ormuzd¹¹, by whom they are all produced (as the evil genii, or Devs, are generated by Ahriman the creator of evil);—a circumstance which utterly destroys that supposed analogy of number with the seven angels around the throne of God, on which the pretence of derivation rests for its principal support. And on looking further at the provinces assigned to these six genii in the sacred books of the Persians¹², and comparing them with what is said in Jewish or Christian

¹⁰ The following is the Chaldee paraphrase of Jonathan ben Uzziel on Gen. xi. 7, "The LORD said to the seventy angels that stand before him (אמר יי לשבעין),—come now, let us go down and confound their language, &c. &c."

On the other hand, the singular collection of traditions, called *Pirke Rabbi Eliezer*, states the matter thus (*cap. iv. sub init.*): "There are four armies of angels of ministry, singing praises before the Holy and Blessed One. The first is the host of Michael, on his right hand: the second that of Gabriel, on his left: the third of Uriel, in front of Him: the fourth of Raphael, behind. And the (Shekinah or) glorious Presence of the Holy and Blessed One is in the midst." This account (making Raphael one of *four* attendant Archangels, not, as in Tobit, one of *seven*) agrees with the older one of the Book of Enoch, which, as cited by Syncellus (*Chronograph. p. 22*), [Fabricius, *Cod. Pseudepigr. Vet. Test. i. p. 179*], speaks of Οἱ τέσσαρες μεγάλοι ἀρχάγγελοι, Μιχαήλ καὶ Οὐριήλ καὶ Ραφαήλ καὶ Γαβριήλ. The corresponding text of the Æthiopic version of that book, ch. ix. 1, gives the names, as it should seem, corruptly, מִכָּאֵל וְגַבְרֵאֵל, וְשִׁרְיֵל וְאִרְיֵל, Michael and Gabriel and Suriel and Uriel (though the name Raphael appears afterwards in x. 6); and the translations of both De Sacy and Archbishop Lawrence, of the former place, inserting both Raphael and Suriel, make *five* Archangels instead of four. (Compare Lawrence's *Book of Enoch*, pp. 7, 194, 206; and *Æth. p. 7*.)

¹¹ *Zend-Avesta*, Vol. I. pp. 23, 155 (ed. Anquetil). The latter passage, from the *Vendidad Sade* of Zoroaster, expressly distinguishes Ormuzd from the Amshaspands.

¹² In the *Zend-Avesta*, Vol. II. pp. 42—45, and pp. 152—155, we have two separate *Iesht Sades*, or ascriptions of praise to the seven Amshaspands. In these, while Ormuzd the Supreme is invoked as specially the patron of man, his firstborn *Bahman*, his ear of intelligence, is represented as the lord of animals; the next, *Ardibeheshi*, as the regent of fire; the next, *Shahrivar*, of metals; the next, *Sapendomad*, who differs from the rest in being female, is the mistress of the earth; while the next, *Khordad*, is the regent of water; the last, *Amerdad*, of trees and fruits. There is little resemblance here to the Jewish idea of ministering spirits.

writings of the seven spirits that surround the throne of the One Creator of all, or the regents of kingdoms to whom the nations of the world are assigned¹³, we shall find the analogy to fail as signally in other respects as in the two principal points of name and of number. The seven Rishies of *Indian* mythology who are next in order to the creator Manu, the representative of Brahma, and move in his nearer presence like the stars of the Great Bear which they inhabit around the pole-star of the heavens, might supply our mythical authors with a far more analogous resemblance as to number: while in other respects it is not a whit more fanciful and unsound. For whereas the doctrine of the heavenly host, of which the Sabian system is the polytheistic corruption, existed in the Hebrew nation, as amidst their Semitic kindred of Syria and Arabia¹⁴, long prior to their contact with any people of Indo-Scythian, or Medic, or Persic original, we have no more reason to seek for the origin of this in the Zendic books of the Magi than in the Vedas or Puranas of their kindred Brahmans.

But further, had Strauss even succeeded in shewing that any truth less developed in the Mosaic system were found, without derivation from the Israelites, among the adherents of Zoroaster¹⁵, we should not yet be reduced to conclude that the authority of the ancient revelation were therefore in jeopardy, or that we were freely abandoned to that eclecticism in choosing or rejecting from all Gentile systems indifferently, which he seems

¹³ The same Chaldee Targumist, who speaks of (*note 10 sup.*) seventy principal angels standing before God at the confusion of tongues, gives also a most extraordinary paraphrase of Deut. xxxii. 8, assigning seventy peoples and languages to these several angels. And the LXX. Alexandrian interpreters (whose number is also connected with this Jewish notion) have so far done the same in their translation of that place, as to substitute for the words of Moses, לְכֹסֶפֶר בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל,

"according to the number of the children of Israel," κατὰ ἀριθμὸν ἀγγέλων Θεοῦ.

¹⁴ The worship of the צְבָאוֹת, the Sabaoth, or hosts of heaven, instead of the Lord God of hosts, and the supposed inhabitation by them of the visible host, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, whence sprung the Chaldean astrology (as well as the worship of Baalim, Ashtoreth, &c., by other neighbouring nations), is one which, from Abraham's leaving his apostate kindred in Mesopotamia, was ever the form of false religion nearest to his descendants. Nor was this new to them in the Babylonian captivity; though they then apparently for the first time came into contact with the system of element worship practised by the Magi of the further East. The Sabian superstitions are curiously treated by Maimonides in Chap. iv. of the *More Nevochim*. (See p. 155 seq. of Townley's Translation. Lond. 1837.)

¹⁵ The question of the age of Zoroaster, and his reform of the Magian caste and their system, is very well discussed by Heeren, in his *Researches on the Persians*, pp. 307—393, English translation.

to consider as the inevitable logical consequence¹⁶. The most reverent regard to the inviolable sacredness of that truth, with which the father of the promised seed and his descendants were peculiarly entrusted, consists well with the belief of the preservation of much original truth elsewhere. Such we find in nations most infected with polytheistic error: and much more we might well conceive to exist in one by which the grosser forms of idolatry were ever held in peculiar abhorrence;—a nation whose greatest Prince is signally honoured by divine prophecy in being named as the future restorer of God's people to their ancient seat, and whose sages were summoned from afar, before the great and wise of Israel, to adore the infant Redeemer.

The best Christians see no contradiction or scandal in all this. Nor is there to them any difficulty in the supposition to which alone the actual phænomena of the case conduct us, viz. that, on occasion of a closer sojourn of Israel among the heathens, the spirit of prophecy might begin the designation of the angels of God after the Gentile manner by proper names, and thus exhibit a more marked testimony both against the idolatrous worship of even the highest of created beings¹⁷, and

¹⁶ Strauss, Vol. I. p. 130. He proceeds hence to deduce the liberty of rejecting, as unworthy of our conception of God, the idea of His being surrounded with a court, &c. Now, though the whole of this argument, being based on the false assumption of the doctrine of Angels coming from heathens to Jews, falls to the ground when that assumption is contravened, it may be as well to add, with respect to other fallacies contained in it, these positions:—1. That the possession of any truth of religion by heathens, and their recognition of it as agreeable to reason, or even as demonstrable on natural grounds, does not in the least imply, as a necessary inference, that they arrived at this truth from a state of previous ignorance by their own exertion of reason. 2. That it is not to be regarded either as a superfluity or a merely negative action in revelation, if, of the truths originally possessed by all, some should be found kept back, or less prominently stated, in the peculiar œconomy of Judaism, *i. e.* in the Sinaitic covenant, whose province it was to “shut men up into a faith to be hereafter revealed” in Christ. Nor does this exclude the intimations of the more enlarged original truths in the Old Testament itself; which we find in the ancient books, as Deuteronomy, as well as in the Prophets—and these before, as well as after, the Captivity. In the actual view of this development of the divine scheme, there is no absurdity from which we in the least need escape, by either denying express divine communications to Israel, or asserting their common possession by other nations, when we know that the best traditions of truth retained by these last were unable to resist the torrent of idolatry that overwhelmed them all.

¹⁷ See note 9 to this chapter, *sup.* We may also observe the care taken, in anticipation of the Captivity, to furnish the people of Israel with a protest against Sabian idolatry in the 10th chapter of Jeremiah; the 11th verse being written (unlike all the rest) in Chaldaic, in order to serve as a formula in the mouth of the captive Jews to be used to their polytheistic masters. There is no allusion there to the iconoclast system of the Magian fire-worshippers, as dominant in the land of the conquerors.

also (in the doctrine of the like origination of the good and the apostate angels) against that which is the peculiar capital falsehood of Magianism, the assertion of two Principles. Strauss's argument from this against supernaturalism is at once annihilated when we consider the strictly Hebraic character of the œconomy he is criticising, and further, that it is a Prophet of the Captivity, *i.e.* one not only nurtured from its first commencement in the zealous profession of his ancient religion in the midst of Gentilism, but recognized as a possessor of the prophetic Spirit, by whom we find these names of Gabriel and Michael to be first used. Hence the anxiety he evinces to degrade the book of Daniel from its place even in the Babylonian age, and to refer it to the Maccabean period. But this, which he assumes in his epithet—"the Maccabean Daniel"—as if it were confessedly demonstrated truth, is as groundless as the more direct statements of the same sentence; and, like many other infidel assertions, it is one that continues to be repeated confidently, after the ground on which alone it plausibly rested has been cut away. The many non-Semitic words occurring in the books of Daniel and of Esther, which appeared to Grotius and other critics of later date to be of Greek origin, and which, if so, might seem to point to the times of the Seleucidæ, or of the Asmonæans, for the composition of these books¹⁸ as we have them in the Bible, are now generally confessed not to belong to the Greek, but to other languages of the Indo-European family, better known to the western world in this than in the former age; and thus become evidences to the direct contrary of what they were once adduced to prove. Of the considerable list of alleged Greek words in Daniel, given by Eichhorn in his *Introduction to the Old Testament*¹⁹, but one

¹⁸ It is right to add that the great Grotius himself did not draw this conclusion, though such words as he conceived to have been Greek would have gone far towards establishing it. He referred the words in question entirely to an influence (highly improbable) of the Greek colonies in Asia Minor on the language of the Chaldaean monarchy.

¹⁹ Eichhorn, *Einleitung in A. T.* Vol. III. p. 347. But no critic now pretends to deduce from *κήρυξ* the כְּרִיז of Daniel, which, if not purely Arameo-Semitic, is Zendic, not Greek; or (still more improbably) the common Chaldaic פְּתִיחָא from *φθέγμα*, when the Pehlevic and the Persian contain the same root; or the word פְּתִיכִים (in which the Alexandrine interpreters never suspected a Greek origin, as they gave it *φορβομῦν* or *πορθεμῦν*) from *πρότιμοι*, when it is shown to be (divested of its Hebrew plural termination) a Zendic word answering to the Sanscrit *prathamās* प्रथमा; or the Latin *primi*. And so for other words.

or two remain, which any judge of the subject would now esteem to be such; both of these being names of musical instruments²⁰, which commerce might easily carry from the Ionian or other colonies of Asia Minor to the regions beyond the Euphrates. The rest of Eichhorn's list are to be referred to the same foreign class with אֲחֻשְׁרֵרְפָּנִיָּא, "Satraps," and the other official names in ch. iii. 2, 3, 27, which are as utterly inexplicable from Greek, as from either the Hebrew or Aramean language of Daniel: viz. to that class and family of nations which included the Medes and their sacerdotal caste, the Magi; who were found in Babylon under the Chaldæans²¹ some time before the Medo-Persic conquest, and from whose sacred language, the Zendic, all these names may be explained. An argument

²⁰ Even these two names, viz. סִנְפִּיָּא, συμφωνία, and פִּסְנִיָּא or פִּסְנִתָּר, ψαλτήριον, are contested by Jahn—*Einleitung in A. T.* Vol. II. Part II. p. 623,—who, since the first edition of his work, in which he had expressed the opinion that there were several Greek words in Daniel, had found reason to conclude that there were none. But the arguments that tell for the Oriental origin of the names κυθάρα and σαμβύκη (in Daniel גִּיתָרָא and סַנְבָּכָא), though not improbably applicable to the latter of the two names above mentioned, the psanter or psaltery (thus making the Greek derivation from ψάλλειν an after accommodation), can scarcely be extended to the former, the word rendered *dulcimer* in our version of Dan. iii., but in reality a kind of pipe, whose original name yet lives in the Italian *zampogna*. If the coincidence with the Greek *symphonia* were accidental, and the Syriac form ܦܨܢܐ, exhibited the true Semitic origination of the name, we should have found the latter and not the former in the Chaldee text of Daniel: where, on the contrary, we find the Keri reading identical in form with the Greek, and the Ctib only omitting the ܡ μ.

²¹ According to the opinion of Michaelis—*Spicilegium Geographiæ Hebræorum Exteræ*, Part II. pp. 77—104, and of the able ethnographer and voyager, J. R. Forster, whose *Epistola de Chaldæis* is there inserted, the proper Chaldæans who founded the Nabonassarian empire at Babylon were not of the same Semitic race with the people they subdued, but of the same class that comprised the Medes and Persians, as also the Slavonian and other European families of nations. This opinion is opposed by Adelung in his *Mithridates*, Vol. I. p. 314 seq.; by Rosenmüller on Habaccuc i. 6; also by Gesenius on Is. xxiii. 13, and in his *Lexicon*. But the argument of Adelung from the undoubted Aramaism of Abraham's kindred, who were of Ur of the Chaldees (עֶשְׂרֵי), will not prove the same origin of the northern people so called by the prophets above mentioned—(whose discrepancy of language from the Aramean people is shewn from Jer. v. 15—17, vi. 21—23)—who under Nebuchadnezzar conquered Jerusalem. And when the origin of this warlike people is traced from the mountains of Carduchia or Curdistan, and their identity asserted with the present similar inhabitants of the same country, they are by this proved to be a non-Semitic people, of kindred origin with the ancient Persians. (See Sir J. Malcolm's *Persia*, Vol. II. p. 207 seq., and, for a proof of what is there said of the Curd language, Pallas's *Vocabularium Linguarum omnium*, Vol. II. p. 478, not. 83, and Adelung, Vol. I. p. 298.) The Chaldæan conquest of Assyria and Babylon was therefore, as Heeren truly states, a prelude of that of Cyrus: and it is to that well-known era of the Ptolemaic canon, B.C. 747, that I would refer the undoubted fact of the existence, under their dynasty, of the Magi concurrently with the Chaldæan soothsayers as a sacerdotal order in Babylon. See Heeren's *Researches on the Babylonians*, pp. 168, 221 seq. (French edition).

therefore the most opposed to Strauss's conclusion grows out of these premises. The Aramean language, in which the greater part of the book of Daniel is written, is distinguished beyond other Semitic Dialects for its ready admission of foreign words. During the millenary period of Greek and Roman domination, Hellenic words sprung up there in great abundance, as we find both in the Chaldaic of the Targumists and the Syriac of the Western provinces; while the words above mentioned, arising from the preceding foreign monarchies which Alexander overthrew, disappeared, leaving scarcely a trace behind²². The occurrence, therefore, of words of this last-mentioned description in the book of Daniel, joined with the absence of Greek ones, indicates unequivocally a time when the division of satrapies yet subsisted, and the corresponding system of judicial and other administrations which the Persians made or left in the provinces was either standing, or fresh in the memory. It proves the composition of the book at the very Medo-Persic period of which it treats, and that its fabrication in the time of the Maccabees, two centuries after the supersession of these

²² A decisive proof of this may be obtained by any one who will compare the original of the first three verses of Dan. iii. word for word with the Syriac version. So near are the two Aramaic dialects to each other, that a verbal coincidence, almost entire, may be observed between the Assyrian text and the translation, except where the foreign names of those Medo-Chaldaic magistrates occur: which had all, with one exception, become obsolete long before the age of the Christian translator, and are replaced by general terms, of native and purely Semitic origin. The one exception to this is of a nature to strengthen our observation rather than impair it: for the only name of magistracy, ܕܢܚܪܝܐ, "treasurers," which is retained [with the transposition of *d* and *r*] in the Syriac ܕܢܚܪܝܐ (like the same foreign word דָּנָר in the

Hebrew of Ezra i. 8, vii. 21, in the Syriac ܕܢܚܪܝܐ or ܕܢܚܪܝܐ owes its preservation in the Aramaic language, after the Medo-Persic domination was gone, solely to its resemblance to the Greek word *γαζοφύπος*, from which Grotius erroneously derived it; and by which the same magistracy might continue to be denoted under the Macedonian dynasty that succeeded. The word is not Greek (otherwise than the cognation of the Indo-European languages makes it so), but a Zendic word answering to the Sanscrit गज्जभरः * and the later Persian گنزار.

(Another name, that of ܕܢܚܪܝܐ, "law-officers" (Pers. دادواران) is not retained but transformed in the Syriac ܕܢܚܪܝܐ of this passage: for the transposition of the kindred letters, *d* and *t*, gives to this word—though a foreign compound, of widely different origin and meaning—the appearance of being purely native and uncompounded, as if deduced from the root ܕܢܚܪܝܐ, "to rule or administer.")

* Synonymous with कोषपालः or कोषाध्यक्षः. For, as Professor Wilson has told us, गज्ज *ganja* in the vocabulary of Hémachandra is "a treasury" equally with the cognate گنزر and γαζα of the Persians and Greeks.

magistracies by Grecian ones, is not only a gratuitous supposition, but an inadmissible one.

There is indeed an argument for referring the book of Daniel to the time of the Maccabees, which is probably more relied on by our author than the exploded one of language. I mean the old argument of Porphyry, from the historical accuracy of the details in the concluding chapters, respecting Alexander and his successors. To those who conclude that Gen. xlix. must have been written after the establishment of David's dynasty, and all of Isaiah, from the fortieth chapter to the end, after the restoration of the Jews from Babylon,—simply because the royalty of Judah is mentioned in the one, and the edict of Cyrus in the other,—this argument must needs be irresistible²³. Unfortunately however it assumes as granted the whole matter on which such critics are opposed to ourselves, viz. that no higher intellect than that of man has been concerned in what those writers of Israel propounded to the world. And it is quite sufficient to reply, that in all to which the art of criticism properly relates, the criteria of human authorship and transmission of meaning which are common to

²³ See e. g. Gesenius *de Pentateucho Samaritano*, p. 6, where are added other examples of a criticism founded altogether on this anti-prophetic assumption. But the effrontery of the assumption is nowhere more conspicuous than in the words of Rosenmüller [*in Gen. xlix. 1*], who says of the benediction of Israel, “*Quæ omnia quum Jacobus nullo modo prænosse potuerit, nisi Spiritu illum divino afflatum putemus, quod sine ratione idonea sumitur (!), effici dicunt esse totum hoc carmen non compositum ante expugnatam atque inter singulas tribus divisam Chananæam terram: Davidis temporibus esse confectum verisimile est Heinrichsio, &c., &c.*” EFFICI indeed, if the Christian world will allow these neologists the premiss, on which alone they profess to build their conclusion: the flagrancy of which in this case is made more remarkable by a note of a directly opposite tendency by the same author, on Gen. xxxvi. 31.

With respect to the particular predictions of Dan. xi. the fact that the ablest of the ancient adversaries of revelation, who lived when many minute records of the Macedonian monarchies in the East existed which are now lost, could no otherwise elude the accuracy of the prophecy than by asserting its subsequent fabrication, has ever been esteemed a most important testimony*. It is therefore disappointing to find the application of the prophecy to these events denied by Mr [now Dr] Todd, in his learned and valuable *Discourses on Antichrist*. This is, however, no place to enter into the reasons which have led the very able author to this result: the principle of interpretation which forbids him to recognize in Antiochus Epiphanes, before the first Advent, an image or type of the Antichrist that is to come, and leads him to consider all these kings, and even the kings of Persia and of Greece in the vision of ch. viii., to be yet future, excluding also the Roman empire from any place in the prophecy.

* Hieron. in *Daniel. præm.*: “*Contra Prophetam Daniele duodecimum librum scribit Porphyrius, nolens eum ab ipso cujus inscriptus est nomine esse compositum, sed a quodam, qui temporibus Antiochi, qui appellatus est Epiphanes, fuerat in Judæa, et non tam Daniele ventura dixisse, quam illum narrasse præterita. Denique quicquid usque ad Antiochum dixerit, veram historiam continere; si quid autem ultra opinatus sit, quia futura nescierit, esse mentitum.*”

these writings with all others, there is nothing to justify their allegation, but everything against it. But another speculation respecting Daniel, on which our author had enlarged in his Introduction, has perhaps had the principal share in this assertion of its comparatively recent composition. This is the notion that the history of Daniel is a mere mythical offspring of that of the patriarch Joseph: whose skill in the interpretation of dreams, when a bondman in Egypt, with his rescue from unjust imprisonment, and high promotion to royal favour, engendered in the minds of the Jews of a subsequent age this story of a precisely similar intelligence, trial, deliverance and advancement, in the person of their captive countryman in Babylon²⁴. Wonderful process, indeed, of mythic formation, where, while all is subjective throughout in those who dreamed the later history, yet is everything wanting there which in the asserted parent-story is most singular and characteristic,—the separation from parents and kindred by fraternal treachery, the retribution following, the preservation from famine, the affecting recognition and reunion, together with the signal example of chastity under temptation: where, also, in the circumstances that are common to both, the discrepancies, as any one may see, are just as striking as the resemblances; e. g. the persecution and trials, which wholly preceded the royal notice in one case, being the mere consequence of that notice and favour in the other. If such coincidences, or even much greater than these, are enough to prove one set of events the mere mental offspring of another, what would become of all history, nay, of all fable, subjected to such a criticism? The two young sons of a king are placed by his death under the care of their nearest kinsman; the treacherous protector murders his royal charge, and makes himself king; till, assailed by wars that his ambition provokes, he loses his usurped crown and his life: will the common possession of these remarkable circumstances prove the story of our Richard III. a mythus created from that of Jugurtha? Or if instances of the marvellous kind are

²⁴ Strauss, Vol. I. pp. 110—112. “So wenig der Verfasser...des Buchs Daniel (ganz ohne Bewusstsein darüber gewesen sein kann) dass er dessen Geschichte der des Joseph, seine Weissagungen aber dem Erfolge nachbildete:” (as before he had said, p. 74, “Daniel einem Juden des babylonischen Exils, werden Weissagungen in den Mund gelegt, die nicht vor Antiochus Epiphanes geschrieben sein können”). On the former point, the derivation of Daniel’s history from Joseph’s, he enlarges in a note.

more suitable, let us take the case of a cruel monarch exposing, with a view to destroy, the offspring of a female member of his house from whom he apprehends danger to his throne. That exposed child, after being nurtured by an animal of the solitude, a she-wolf in one account, of the canine species in the other, (but in both explained severally to be a woman, a herdsman's wife, whose proper name corresponded to the name of the animal,) at length by a train of extraordinary circumstance realizes his appointed destiny, dethrones his intended destroyer, and becomes the founder of a new dynasty of far greater and more extended empire: will even these extraordinary details, meeting in the Romulus of Livy and the Cyrus of Herodotus, persuade any sane person that the latter story is but the Western tale re-echoed from the East, or that each has not its separate basis, whatever that may be? To believe this, on the mere ground of community of incidents, of Daniel and Joseph,—where, though the nation is the same, the differences are so much more remarkable,—requires a mind most singularly attuned to the pantheistic philosophy that blends together the subjective and the objective, and knows no difference between them.

The reader may, however, now judge of the truth and accuracy of the observation of Strauss²⁵. “These more precise determinations of the doctrine of angels are found for the first time in the *Maccabaïc Daniel*, and the Apocryphal Tobit: *evidently in consequence of the influence of the Zendic religion*, as indeed the Jews themselves attest that the names of the angels came with them from Babylon.” If these several assertions, —1, the absence of precision from the old Scripture doctrine of angels, 2, the late composition of the book of Daniel, and 3, the derivation of the names of angels from the Zendic system, either in Jewish testimony or in fact, be wholly unfounded, and nothing remain but a certain course in the divine œconomy with reference to Gentilism, we may estimate the importance of the questions which follow this series of gratuitous assumptions, and their extremely embarrassing nature to the “Supernaturalist.” We may pass, therefore, from the subject of angels to the other objections raised by Strauss against the literal truth of this history.

²⁵ Vol. I. p. 129. See Note 16, *sup.* p. 129.

The reason of Strauss is shocked not only by the name and rank, but by the discourse and conduct, of the angel, and particularly by the merciless severity of his infliction on the doubting priest. While directing his criticism against the mission of Gabriel, he had described it as evidently useless and therefore unworthy of the Divinity, unless the credence of Zacharias were predetermined by it as a necessary result²⁶: and in the prosecution of that argument, (which, as we may observe in passing, assumes the irresistibility of the divine purpose by the waywardness of man,) he had asserted, in defiance of the narrative and of common sense, that so far was such a purpose from taking effect, that Zacharias was convinced *only by the event*,—in other words, that even after the signal proof afforded by his own dumbness he continued incredulous to the divine message until the pregnancy of Elisabeth was indubitable. It is perfectly in character that the same critic should proceed to cavil at a dispensation, to the intended and effected object of which he was so determinately blind; that, dismissing from view altogether the previously asserted necessity of maintaining the credit of the angelic message, and the character of a *sign* which he himself labours to give to this infliction when the object is to connect it with Old Testament precedents²⁷, he should now presume to tax with needless severity what the good priest received with meek resignation, and (connecting it throughout with the signal mercy of which it was a pledge) certainly

²⁶ Vol. I. p. 130. "Man wäre also auf den Ausweg hingewiesen, eine Anbequemung von Seiten Gottes anzunehmen, d. h. dass er einen höheren Geist abgesendet habe mit der Weisung, sich, um bei dem Vater des Täufers Glauben zu finden, der jüdischen Vorstellung gemäss, einen Rang und Titel beizulegen, die er eigentlich nicht hatte. Da aber, wie sogleich sich zeigte, Zacharias auch so dem Engel nicht glaubte, sondern erst dem Erfolg: so war jene ganze Herablassung unnütz, und kann daher nicht von Gott veranstaltet worden sein."

The more perspicacious and less captious mind of Schleiermacher has discerned the truth which the haste of constructing his hostile syllogism has concealed from Strauss. The former's words are worth quoting (though his mode of speculation in the passage from which this is extracted is most presumptuous), p. 20 of the English Translation of the *Essay on St Luke*. "Similar to this is the circumstance that Zacharias is punished with dumbness for his unbelief, and thus contrasted with Mary, who breaks forth under divine inspiration into songs of praise: and yet that, *although his unbelief must long before have ceased*, he does not recover his speech till the instant when, by confirming the name, he solemnly recognizes the Angel's declaration of his son's calling." By "long before," the acute critic of the history before him, mythical as he deems it, does not certainly mean, since the ascertainment by Zacharias of his wife's pregnancy merely, but since his experience of divine power in the rebuke of his own unbelief at first—*παίδευθεὶς τῇ πληγῇ τῆς σιωπῆς πιστεύειν τοῖς τοῦ ἀγγέλου ῥήμασι*, as a Greek Father has well represented the case. Euthym. Zigab. *Comment. in IV. Evangel.* Tom. II. p. 217, ed. Matthæi.

²⁷ Vol. I. p. 155. See also page 95 *sup*.

esteemed a most blessed as well as merited chastisement. Why, says this self-constituted advocate,—with Paulus, his usual antagonist, here enlisted on the same side,—why so imperious a censure of a mere natural question on the part of Zacharias, indicating a spirit of inquiry which a celestial being might rather approve, when the same question from Abraham was unrebuked, when even his laugh and the more noticed laugh of Sarah were forgiven; and, to come nearer home, when a corresponding inquiry preferred by Mary to the same angel meets with no punishment, but instant resolution of her difficulty? To objections like these, it would be justly offensive to the sense of all right-minded Christians were we to attempt a detailed reply, which indeed were hardly possible without falling into somewhat of the same irreverence that dictated them²⁸. When Dr Strauss can put himself and us in the place of the Judge of hearts, to determine the measures of incredulity that deserve blame according to the experience and opportunities of observation, or the means of religious culture, in each several person,—when, from a point of view far higher than that which any human criticism can reach, he can enable us to tell exactly how much of this incredulity appeared in the several deportments of Abraham and Sarah, of Zacharias and the blessed Virgin on these occasions, how much of joyful surprise, how much of mere desire of explication, how much severally of the sense of personal unworthiness and of the more estranging unbelief arising from some secret sin, might possibly be concerned, though by imperceptible admixtures, in one or more of their replies or gestures or thoughts,—when, lastly, he can bid us estimate, from the surrounding persons and circumstances of the time, what animadversion on the several deficiencies of these just persons would best answer the purpose of salutary discipline to themselves, and confirmation of faith in all,—then alone can we seek to follow him, and hold

²⁸ The contact of an irreverent author must be strangely infectious, at least in Germany, that could cause a scholar and divine of great eminence, a priest of the Catholic Church, usually serious in his style, and impressed with due and becoming respect to the saints of the Old and New Covenants, so far to forget the wise man's advice (Prov. xxvi. 4), though but for a momentary digression, as to admit the following miserable pleasantry into his answer to Strauss here: "Aber auf die Strafe zurück zu kommen, die man in Vergleichung mit Sara, die gleichfalls nicht an einen versprochenen Sohn geglaubt, ungerecht findet; wenn darauf ein Erwiderung gehört, fragen wir: wäre es nicht grausam gewesen, eine Frau auch nur auf eine Woche zur Stummheit zu verfallen? Wenden wir aber die Sache ins Ernste, &c. &c. (!)" See Gen. xviii. 9—15.

ourselves bound to satisfy his queries. Till then they must appear to us mere vain and ignorant presumption. The inability to determine *à priori* what should be the right measures of divine judgment with respect to ourselves and others, or to do otherwise than investigate with reverent attention the traces of a preceding wisdom in such dispensations, is among the first and latest lessons of religious discipline. A whole book of the most ancient Scripture is devoted to the inculcation of the truth, that though wisdom and not mere arbitrary will directs the Almighty's proceedings, his reasons are for the most part latent to us. And we regard it among the greatest of the unhappinesses, as well as the follies, which rejection of God's revelation brings with it, that it leaves untamed the pride which canvasses and questions the proceedings of Omniscience.

To the pantheistic deniers of the divine unsearchableness all this will doubtless appear irrational, or as it were begging the question : and it will perhaps be said that such a mode of thought leaves no room for the inquiry in any case, whether a given proceeding, said to come directly from God, be worthy of his moral attributes or not. But it is not so. The appeal to man's natural power of moral judgment is made by the Gospel for all its contents : and part of the answer made to that appeal by the best of mankind is this, that where sufficiently ample marks of God's goodness and greatness are visible to bespeak the whole matter His, it is then the highest reasonableness to leave the details with Him : to believe all right in every particular of adjustment, where yet the several minute reasons that make it so are not, because they cannot be, present to our minds. How then stands the case here ? Will any one say that cruelty to the favoured and grateful Zacharias is the legitimate impression on any ordinary mind from the review of this history, or that complaint on his behalf can be sustained, except on a principle which would equally give every man room to complain of Providence, when he saw others, whom he believed, truly or falsely, to be no greater sinners, less visited with ordinary afflictions than himself ? And how then can differences of this nature (supposing them far more inexplicable than they seem here), which result inevitably, on our principles, from the Gospel being of the God who rules the world, be possibly made an argument, or a presumption, against our conclusion ?

SECTION V.

ANSWER TO THE OBJECTION TO THE HISTORY OF JOHN'S NATIVITY, DRAWN FROM HIS SUBSEQUENT UNAC- QUAINTANCE WITH JESUS.

THE arguments urged against the probability of the high-toned effusions of thanks which we read in this Gospel have been noticed in the third Section of this Chapter¹: and we have now only to meet an objection of greater apparent weight, the assertion of a historical inconsistency between the truth of this narrative and the testimony of the precursor himself, on two several subsequent occasions (John i. 31, and Matth. xi. 2). The former, which is the only one in which the present history is really concerned, is contained in the words, "*I (the Baptist) knew Him not,*" twice repeated in the account given in the fourth Gospel of the forerunner's testimony to Jesus Christ. Each time there is a marked emphasis on the personal pronoun I: and in each the negative assertion is followed by a positive one connected with a "but;" that clause in the former instance containing the same emphatic personal pronoun again, while in the latter the *Ego* of the speaker is contrasted with the Divine Being who gave him his commission. Οὗτός ἐστι περὶ οὗ ἐγὼ εἶπον ὀπίσω μου ἔρχεται ἀνὴρ, ὃς ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν ὅτι πρῶτός μου ἦν. Καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ᾔδειν αὐτόν· ἀλλ' ἵνα φανερωθῇ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, διὰ τοῦτο ἦλθον ἐγὼ ἐν (τῷ) ὕδατι βαπτίζων. — — Καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ᾔδειν αὐτόν· ἀλλ' ὁ πέμψας με βαπτίζειν ἐν ὕδατι, ἐκεῖνός μοι εἶπεν ἐφ' ὃν ἂν ἴδῃς τὸ πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον καὶ μένον ἐπ' αὐτόν, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ βαπτίζων ἐν πνεύματι ἀγίῳ· καὶ γὰρ ἑώρακα καὶ μεμαρτύρηκα, ὅτι οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ. How then is this reiterated profession

¹ Vid. sup. p. 115 seq.

of previous ignorance to be reconciled with the kindred of the parties, and with all the fore-announcements of John's kinsman being the Christ, which we find in St Luke's first chapter?

Now we grant (if that must be called a concession to the adversaries which belongs rather to our full conception and realization of the case to ourselves), that the truth of our present narrative, as it will not allow the supposition of John's ignorance of his own high vocation from the first, will as little consist with his non-apprehension of the fact, that it was the son of Mary, his own maternal relative, whose advent he was to prepare. The designation to which he bore testimony unconsciously in the womb, and which his mother, with entire consciousness of its meaning, expressed reverently to the Virgin Mother of her Lord, cannot have been kept secret from his earliest years: and however the memory of the wonderful facts in question might fade, as would naturally be the case, from the minds of the many that heard them, when nothing of public or stirring interest appeared afterwards to connect them with their hopes of the future era, the tradition of them could not possibly thus pass away from *him*. Nor would his solitary life in the desert, apart from his kindred, as from mankind in general, tend to impair the recollection, but to strengthen it.

As one sense of the words οὐκ ᾔδειν αὐτὸν is thus excluded, so also is another sense, viz. the denial of all knowledge of the *person* of Jesus, and consequently of the identity of the new Galilean applicant for his baptism with the subject of the previous natal announcements, *till revealed as such by the celestial sign*. For this solution—though, unlike the former, very probable in itself, and entirely consistent with the narratives both of St Luke and St John—is precluded by another and a prior testimony. Though the previous life of the Baptist had never brought him into contact with the family of our Lord, and it is probable that they in Galilee had little or no intercourse with even Zacharias and Elisabeth before their deaths, after the apparently singular journey of Mary to visit them in Hebron (or some other city of the mountainous region of Southern Judæa), yet we learn from the first Evangelist St Matthew that John did actually recognise his kinsman, and that in the most distinct manner, just *before* the sign. His recognition of Jesus,

even as the exalted person whose way he was now preparing, seems implied in the acknowledgment that the sanctity now before him was such as to stand in no need of the baptism required by the rest of Israel, but should rather be invoked to impart higher purification to himself². Now, whether it were from a divine impulse, or (what is very probable) from some short unrecorded conversation immediately preceding that of Matt. iii. 14, that John discerned the relative whom he had not seen before, still it is clear at all events that this was prior to the baptism, and consequently prior to the sign here spoken of by the Baptist; which, according to all the first three Evangelists that relate it, was consequent on our Lord's emerging from the baptismal waters of Jordan.

The entire difficulty is thus before the reader. And now, recurring to the whole passage (John i. 29—34), I would ask whether it is not accordant to the manner of the Scripture to understand the *καὶ γὰρ οὐκ ᾔδειν αὐτὸν* in both the 31st and the 33rd verses as defined in meaning by the affirmative clauses which balance it, and simply as denying that John's own knowledge of Jesus was at all concerned in his recognition of him as the Christ: denying absolutely that, when making the announcement of v. 30, he had the least personal acquaintance with the coming Superior, or that there was any other ground for his proclamation of him at last than the divine proof afforded immediately after the baptism. The two passages may be thus connected³ and paraphrased: "He, whom I now proclaim by

² From the Baptist's words in St Matthew, *ἐγὼ χρίστων ἔχω ὑπὸ σοῦ βαπτισθῆναι*, it was by some inferred that, having baptized Jesus, John was by Him baptized in the same water: an idea that may be seen expressed in a curious antique drawing given by Paciaudi (*Antiquitates Christianæ*. Dissert. Sec. De cultu S.J.B. p. 69 [Rom. 1755]), from the library of Turin, with the inscription, *Ubi XPS et Iohannes in Jordane flumine tincti fuerunt*. The learned Roman antiquary, with his usual partiality for such legends, cites St Augustine as bearing out his painter's idea: but the words of the great Father* import no such express baptism as this: they mean that, by being with Christ in the water, which then mystically represented the washing away of sin from humanity in the person of its new Head and Representative, the Precursor obtained in real virtue the blessing he desired from the Saviour, and was cleansed by the baptism which he himself administered. The realization of his wish is found also, and with no less truth, by other Fathers, in the death with which he soon after sealed his testimony to the greater one who should come after, and of whose baptism of blood he thus by anticipation partook.

³ The clause John i. 29—34 is indeed but one continuous discourse of the fore-

* *Ego a Te, inquit, debeo baptizari, opus est mihi, necessarium est mihi. Et hoc illi ibi præstitum est: quando enim Dominus in aquam, non ille præter aquam. Quid pluribus? Cesset deinceps, si fieri potest, contrarius disputator: quia et præconem suum liberavit ipse Salvator.*" Serm. 293 in Natal. J. B. (Tom. v. p. 1162, ed. Benedict.) The opponents alluded to are the Pelagian deniers of original sin.

divine authority as the remover of human sin, is the same whom I have, throughout my ministry, announced as the greater one that should come after me,—superior, because prior, to myself,—who should baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire. Not that I knew—had ever seen or communicated with—the person whom I thus fore-announced: though it was solely in order to his public manifestation that God sent me to baptize with water. And the whole even of my present testimony is comprised in this, that I saw the Spirit descending on him as a dove and abiding. For it was not that I, John, knew Jesus: but the God who sent me to baptize, He had given me the sign by which His Holy One should be known to Israel. He had instructed me, before I ever saw or recognized the Person now proclaimed, that in whomsoever I should behold that celestial appearance verified I should acknowledge the Dispenser of the Holy Spirit. Then accordingly, and not before, did I bear my express public testimony to the individual; the testimony from ocular proof that this is the Son of God.” Such is in substance the explanation of Ammonius⁴, of Chrysostom⁵,

runner, pronounced to his disciples the day after his baptizing Jesus (as that which next follows, in v. 35 seq., was pronounced the day following to two disciples only): and the words in v. 32, omitted in the above paraphrase, viz. *Καὶ ἐμαρτύρησεν Ἰωάννης λέγων οὗτοι*, are therefore no new beginning, but an insertion of the Evangelist into the midst of the Baptist's discourse, for the purpose of indicating the capital point of his testimony. (Another instance of a mere insertion appearing like a new commencement appears in Luke vii. 31, where the discourse has been interrupted from another cause, in order to explain to Gentile readers, in vv. 29, 30, the ground of the illustration that follows. To Hebrew readers this was not required: and therefore in the parallel place, Matt. xi. 7—19, the discourse is uninterrupted.)

How singularly the truth of Matt. iii. 13—17, and Joh. i. 32—34, is attested even by the Gnostic sect that peculiarly venerates John the Baptist and blasphemes our Lord as a false pretender to the character of his superior, i.e. of a Divine Æon, may be seen in Norberg's *Codex Nasareus*, Vol. II. pp. 18—27 (compared with the passages in Vol. I. pp. 54—59, 98—117, 226—229, which contain the names of Jesus, Immanuel, Pilatus, and Mohammed).

⁴ Διὰ τι τὸ κἀγὼ οὐκ ᾔδειν αὐτὸν λέγει; ἀνύποπτον τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐργάσασθαι βουλόμενος, ὡς οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρωπίνης φιλίας ἦν αὐτῇ, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀποκαλύψεως· δέκνυνσι δὲ καὶ ἦν εἶχεν αἰτίαν τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ βάπτισμα. Ἄλλ' ἵνα φανερωθῇ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ, τοῦτ' ἔστι διὰ τὸ προοδοποιῆσαι τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ πίστει τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασι, διὰ τοῦτο ἦλθον κἀγὼ βαπτίζων ἐν ὕδατι. Βουλόμενος δὲ ἀξιοπιστοτέραν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μαρτυρίαν ποιῆσαι, ἀνάγει αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Πατέρα καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὕτως εἰπόν ὅτι τεθέσμαι τὸ Πνεῦμα καταβαῖνον ὥσει περισσευρὰν καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Συνεχῶς δὲ λέγει τὸ Κἀγὼ οὐκ ᾔδειν αὐτὸν, διότι συγγενὴς αὐτοῦ ἦν κατὰ σάρκα· Ἰδοὺ, φησὶν, ὁ ἄγγελος, φησὶ, πρὸς τὴν Μαρίαν, Ἐλισάβετ ἡ συγγενὴς σου. Ἰνα οὖν μὴ δόξῃ χαρίζεσθαι διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, τοῦτό φησιν· ὅθεν καὶ τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον κατ' οἰκονομίαν Θεοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διέτριβε. Ammonius Presbyter (in *Catena Patrum in S. Joannem*, p. 191).

⁵ In his [17th al.] 16th Homily on St John's Gospel, Chrysostom enlarges on all these particulars, mentioning also the recognition of Matt. iii. 14: and observing that till that time, from the date of the first wonders recorded in the earlier

of Theodore of Mopsuestia⁶, and others: understanding this speech of the Baptist as intended to merge all personal testimony of his own to the Son of God in that of the Father and the Holy Spirit, and to disclaim strongly any previous concert with Christ either as to the baptism or the sign (a concert precluded by his own solitary life, and the perpetual absence of his kinsman in Galilee or Jerusalem, till the day when He presented himself on the banks of the Jordan to be baptized). It is strictly in accordance with this view of the Baptist's meaning, that the few and only words that he had himself ever addressed to the Saviour should be words of dissuasion from the approaching baptism. We there see that, whatever might be the degree of apprehension, obscure probably even to himself before its fulfilment, with which John looked to Jesus as the One to be revealed, he did not anticipate by any agency or speculation of his own the act of God of whom he was the organ: and he was free to express to the superior Person approaching him the thought that mainly occupied his mind, of the incongruity of his own offering to that spotless virtue the symbols of cleansing from sin. For it may be useful, for the sake of obviating objection, to remember, that, though the sign

chapters of St Matthew and St Luke, i.e. while the Baptist was yet an infant, there had been no personal knowledge or intercourse between them. He observes that this absence of the knowledge that might be expected from their near kindred was then most complete when John received his commission to baptize with water, in order to the manifestation of Christ to Israel—(a purpose from which he infers by the way the falsehood of all the alleged miracles of the intermediate time contained in the apocryphal Gospels of infancy, as was remarked in note 1, p. 107, *sup.*): and he then observes that the past tense, "I knew him not," ought to be understood with special reference to that time; viz. that the Baptist, when entering on his preparatory preaching of repentance, had no personal acquaintance whatever with the Greater One whom he announced as about to follow him. This, therefore, does not prejudice the recognition immediately before the sign, as told by St Matthew: *ὥστε θύαν λέγει, οὐκ ᾔδειν αὐτόν, τὸν ἐμπροσθεν λέγει χρόνον, οὐ τὸν ἐγγὺς τοῦ βαπτίσματος· ἐπεὶ πῶς αὐτὸν ἐκώλυε λέγων, ἐγὼ χρεῖαν ἔχω ὑπὸ σοῦ βαπτισθῆναι;*

⁶ Among the few fragments remaining of this celebrated writer, a name of melancholy interest in the Church, is one (No. VI. of those published by Mûnter) relating entirely to this difficulty: in which we may observe the same judgment and perspicuity that are displayed in vindicating other parts of the evangelic history from the objections of the Emperor Julian (Fragm. I—V): where also we may trace many of the ideas that were afterwards better worded by his illustrious pupil John Chrysostom. After speaking of the divine economy by which the Baptist in his preceding life had been kept from all intercourse with the Saviour, and every suspicion of affection or collusion being the source of his testimony thus precluded from the unbelieving world, the subject is summed up with the words, *Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐρημὸν διατριβῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκουωνήτου τῆς διαγωγῆς τοῦτο αὐτὸ διαμαρτυρόμενος ἔλεγε· κἀγὼ οὐκ ᾔδειν αὐτόν· ἀλλ' ὁ πέμψας με βαπτίζειν ἐν ὕδατι, ἐκεῖνός μοι εἶπε.* (*Fragmenta Patrum Græcorum*—edidit et illustravit F. Mûnter. Fascic. I. Hafniæ, 1788, pp. 138—141.)

of the dove-like Spirit was announced beforehand to John, according to his declaration (John i. 33), it was not announced that this should follow the baptism of the person so designated. That was known only by the event, after the fulfilment of all righteousness in this particular by the Son of God. Consequently, in deprecating the baptism, it cannot be pretended that John was seeking to decline any known essential of his mission;—that he was either suppressing an actual conviction of his own, or, what were no less unworthy, merely affecting a disposition to omit what he knew must be, in order to remove from the auditors all suspicion of collusion with him whom he baptized. But if it appear hard to take the words *οὐκ ᾔδειν αὐτὸν* otherwise than in their most strict and absolute meaning,—i. e. as relating not only to the preceding life and ministry of John, in which he was really without personal knowledge of his all-holy kinsman, but to the very last moment before the baptism,—it would be well to consider the many passages in this Gospel where the negative part of a sentence followed by *ἀλλὰ* is limited in meaning by the positive clause annexed: and where, taken absolutely without such limitation, the negation will be found as inconsistent with other plain affirmations of the same Gospel⁷, as the assertion of John's previous entire ignorance of Jesus is with the circumstance related by St Matthew.

As for the other occasion of professed ignorance adduced here by Strauss, the message of John the Baptist to Jesus from prison, the relevancy of the citation is not so clear. For since that message and reply are told by the two Evangelists, St Matthew (ch. xi.) and St Luke (ch. vii.), who had before most circumstantially related the baptism of Jesus by John and the heavenly sign following, the allegation that an utter ignorance of Jesus is implied in this subsequent message strikes much more at the explicit revelation said to be afforded to John on that occasion, than at the more remote announcements made to his parents thirty years before. The alleged difficulty is in fact an impeachment of the consistency of the adult history of the parties, instead of being, as it professes to be, an ap-

⁷ I would refer to the following passages of St John's Gospel as illustrating the limitation contended for: iii. 17 (compared with the 19th verse following), also vii. 16, ix. 3, x. 18, xii. 47 (compared with ix. 39), and xiv. 24.

peal to that history from the pretended fabulous circumstances of their infancy. But there is no such unaccountable and suicidal self-forgetfulness in either Evangelist as should force us to sacrifice to this solitary incident either the circumstances of Christ's baptism which all the Gospels commemorate, or the earlier events of St Luke's first chapter. However we may conceive the object of that message,—whether for the satisfaction of the Baptist himself, or, as it is more truly and generally thought, of his disciples, whom John, now decreasing and retiring from the scene, sought to direct altogether to Him whose doctrine was growing and eternal,—it would be plainly absurd to understand it as intended to throw doubt on the testimony he had given before. The point requiring resolution was simply whether the person, the fame of whose wonders in Galilee had penetrated his remote prison on the Arabian border⁸, were identical with Him whom he had before, in the plain of Jordan, proclaimed as the coming Christ, or were merely another of his precursors or attendants. Such an attendant, under the name of “the Prophet,” was ordinarily associated with Elias in Jewish tradition as ushering in the Christ: and to remove the idea that the new northern teacher might be possibly such, no answer could be more appropriate than that of pointing to the works then performed by Jesus, works assigned in ancient prophecy (Is. lxi.) as distinctive characteristics of the Messiah. No more surely need be said of the pretence that John must be supposed, even at this close of his career, utterly ignorant either of the person, or the character, of Jesus Christ.

Before closing this chapter, it may not be useless to recur to the important place in this enquiry held by that most interesting particular contained in Matt. iii. 14, 15, by which we are preserved from an exaggerated interpretation of the words of the Baptist in the fourth Gospel. Without this indication by the first Evangelist of John's previous knowledge of the character of Jesus of Nazareth, it might have been more plausibly pretended by our adversaries, that to the traditions of the Christians in Palestine all relation between Jesus and his forerunner, antecedent to his baptism, was totally unknown; and that this appears only in the Gentile mythus of

⁸ In the castle of Machærus. Vide Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* lib. xvii. cap. v. § 1, 2.

St Luke. But this incident, which the Gospel of the Circumcision alone records, and respecting which St Luke is silent, proves the contrary to be the fact. For it proves that John had before that sign the knowledge of a sanctity in Jesus, which not only pre-eminently distinguished Him from every other candidate for his baptism, but qualified him to be a purifier of others, even the holiest of the sons of Levi, from their moral stains:—a knowledge for which, unless an extraordinary and unrecorded inspiration on the spot be supposed, we can scarcely conceive any other adequate foundation to the sequestered John, than those wondrous facts of which St Luke's first chapter contains the history. It proves that, though it did not suit St Matthew's more concise account of our Lord's miraculous conception and birth of a Virgin to add to it the nativity of his kinsman and precursor, the narration of St Luke in this, as well as in other circumstances of moment which will be noticed hereafter, did in no respect contradict that of his predecessor, but merely supplied his omissions: and the omission, in this instance, we have the best reason to pronounce a conscious one, *i. e.* accompanied with a full personal knowledge in St Matthew of the facts omitted. Whether Mary the mother of our Lord were related to Elizabeth the mother of the forerunner,—whether it were at the house of that kinswoman that she received the first human recognition of her transcendent honour and blessedness, and was herself divinely prompted to utter her hymn of humble thanks,—must have been well known, before her decease and afterward, to St John her adopted son; as it was, from far earlier recollection, to St James the Just, and Simeon the son of Clopas, who were members of her household at Nazareth and at Capernaum. The reception of a false or fabulous story on this head were equally impossible in the churches of Asia Minor, enlightened by the beloved Apostle, with others of the Circumcision, where St Luke's Gospel was first current, and in that of Palestine, ruled by those brethren of the Lord, in which St Matthew's Gospel attained its first use and prevalence: impossible equally in the Catholic Church, uniting all the Apostolic sees, by which both Gospels were early received and sanctioned.

CHAPTER II.

ON THE DESCENT AND PARENTAGE OF THE SAVIOUR.

SECTION I.

THE TWO GENEALOGIES OF JESUS, CONSIDERED APART FROM EACH OTHER, EVINCE NO MARKS OF MYTHICAL FORMATION.

FROM the birth of the forerunner the opponent of the evangelical history proceeds to the genealogy of Christ; the account of which, in St Matthew, is prefixed to that of the conception and nativity, and so to the whole life and acts of the Saviour, but, in St Luke's Gospel, which we have hitherto been reviewing, is annexed to the statement of his first public manifestation when thirty years of age. The chain of Strauss's argument on this topic, as pursued in his second chapter, and reverted to, after a discussion of the miraculous conception, in his third, may be exhibited in the propositions following:—

1. That the genealogies, considered each separately, bear evident marks of not being historical¹.
2. That this proof of their non-historic character becomes overwhelming when we compare the two together, and observe their irreconcilable discrepancies².
3. That since accordingly they are purely mythical, *i. e.* springing solely from the idea of connecting the Messiah with the lineage of David, and since there would be no accordance with this idea in tracing the descent through Joseph, unless Joseph were the real and natural father of Christ, it follows demonstratively, that the framers of both these genealogies must have thought with the Ebionites on that matter, and on

¹ Strauss, Vol. I. pp. 155—166 (§ xx.).

² Ibid. pp. 167—177 (§ xxi.).

the mere humanity of Christ³. 4. That, whereas it appears from unexceptionable testimony that the Ebionites rejected both genealogies from their Gospel, that most unfortunate circumstance for the argument must be overcome by referring it solely to the infusion of Gnosticism, or of the spirit of the Essenes, into the system of the later Ebionites of Epiphanius's day;—an infusion altogether alien from the doctrine of those first pure Ebionites, to whom, from the internal evidence above-mentioned, it is quite necessary to ascribe the authorship of the genealogies, rather than to the later authors of the Gospels in which they are contained⁴. 5. That though the miraculous conception, excluding the paternity of Joseph, is announced very decidedly in the two Gospels bearing the names of St Matthew and St Luke,—more rudely in the former, but with the mythus developed in the latter (the development being yet more complete in the apocryphal Gospels),—there is no vestige whatever of such a dogma in the two other canonical Gospels, not even in that attributed to St John, or in any of the Apostolical Epistles, but much that is plainly opposed to it⁵: while, of all the exegetical proofs thus obtained of the unreality of the supernatural conception of Jesus, the most decisive and direct is found in the two genealogies⁶, the genealogies contained in those same Gospels of St Matthew and St Luke.

The strangeness of the conclusion is here equally remarkable with the gratuitousness of the argument, and its contempt for the facts of external evidence compared with the assumed certainty of the rules of the subjective thought, from which all is to be deduced. While intent on his principle of affixing the mythic interpretation to the Gospel, our author had animadverted strongly (and justly) on the uncritical proceeding of those who would deny to the chapters containing the miraculous conception their genuine place in the first Gospel, as before in the third⁷. He conceives the same illusory view of rational-

³ Strauss, Vol. I. pp. 177—180, and 211—215 (§ xxi. xxii. xxvi.).

⁴ Ibid. pp. 215—222 (§ xxvi.).

⁵ Ibid. pp. 205—211 (§ xxv.).

⁶ Ibid. p. 211: "Doch die entscheidendste exegetische Instanz gegen die Wirklichkeit einer übernatürlichen Erzeugung Jesu, liegt uns näher als alle bisher aufgeführten Stellen, nämlich in den beiden Genealogien, die wir nur so eben erst betrachtet haben."

⁷ Ibid. p. 156: "Auch die zwei ersten Kapitel des Matthäus übrigens, welche die Geburts- und Kindheitsgeschichte Jesu enthalten, sind, wie die parallelen Abschnitte des Lukas, in Bezug auf ihre Aechtheit angezweifelt worden; doch

izing the Evangelical narratives to have misled these critics in the case of Matthew as of Luke: and "here likewise solid refutations" (viz. from Griesbach and others) "have put all objections to silence." So writes Strauss at the commencement of the very chapter now before us. But as the progress of his argument leads him, in conjunction with these same rationalists, to represent the doctrine of the miraculous conception as an addition to primitive Christianity, he adopts a mode of reasoning which the above admission annihilates. For if the first and third Gospels as we have them be each a genuine whole, subsequent to the Apostolic age,—and if consequently there is nothing in either of them, from the third chapter downward, where the mother and brethren and kindred of Jesus are mentioned, which is inconsistent with the belief of the miraculous conception,—how can such inconsistency be predicated of the corresponding passages in St Mark, or *à fortiori* of any other passage in the New Testament? All idea of the unity, before respected, must be abandoned with respect to these two Gospels throughout, as well as in the genealogies; which, on no other critical ground than the general reasoning above mentioned, we find expressly referred to an older authorship than the other parts. Thus is our critic led to the maintenance of these two very singular positions:—1. That the Gospels bearing the names of Matthew and Luke are later developments of Christian doctrine than that of John, or than any other book of the New Testament; they alone having introduced the narrative of Christ's birth of a pure Virgin into the Ebionitic system before existing: 2. That it is, notwithstanding, these same two Evangelists, and they alone, who have furnished us from older sources with the most certain and obvious refutation of that addition, the genealogies: the former of them placing the pedigree in close juxtaposition with the dogma it refutes, and as its most appropriate preface!

But it is required that we should examine separately, and without reference either to their mutual consistency, or to the probability of the conclusion evolved from them, the five propositions which form the chain of this argument: in which though there is one, the second of the number, that presents a consi-

nur von demselben befangenen Standpunkt aus wie jene: wesswegen auch hier durch gründliche Wiederlegungen die Zweifel zum Schweigen gebracht sind."

derable and long acknowledged difficulty, we maintain that there is nothing to justify the strange inference here deduced, or any that is adverse to the historical credit of the Gospels. Let us begin therefore with the genealogies considered each separately ; and first with that of St Matthew.

Agreeably to the constant purpose of the first Gospel, to exhibit Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah promised to the fathers, we find his line of descent traced downward from the father of the faithful primarily, and secondarily from the head of royalty in Israel. And because, from Abraham to David inclusive, the number of recorded names in the Old Testament genealogies is exactly fourteen, the sacred author, parting from this main purpose of his genealogy, adopts a very common Hebrew usage (intended to aid the memory in estimating the distances of remarkable persons and events, and connected frequently with the idea of peculiar excellence either in the denary or septenary numbers⁸), in making this remarkable double hebdomad of generations the measure of the period that follows from David to Christ ; an interval which is twice as long as the other, and which divides itself into two periods, each equal to it, at the most memorable of all intermediate eras, that of the extinction of the Davidic royalty in the Babylonian captivity. He says, Πᾶσαι οὖν αἱ γενεαὶ ἀπὸ Ἀβραάμ ἕως Δαβίδ γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες· καὶ ἀπὸ Δαβίδ ἕως τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες· καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μετοικεσίας Βαβυλῶνος ἕως τοῦ Χριστοῦ γενεαὶ δεκατέσσαρες.

It is upon this that Strauss founds his first objection, which is that the author of this genealogy has not attended to his own division : that whereas from Abraham to David inclusive there are actually fourteen names enumerated, and as many from Solomon in the royal line to Jechonias the captive king inclusive, there are from that king's son Salathiel to Jesus only thirteen names in the list, even when we have included both. It is hard to say why our author should dwell so long and so seriously upon this, even more than on the alleged divergencies from history in these numbers, when his object is to prove the genealogy no history, but a mythus. For on arbitrary points of this nature, the writer of a fable is wont to be no less exact

⁸ So writes Philo in several places, particularly in the two passages quoted in notes 15 and 18 of the present chapter.

than a historian; or rather, as we may add, more so, when the matter on which he has to be accurate is not subjected to any external facts for its determination. And the only issue of the argument, supposing it successful, would be to prove the genealogist inobservant of the numeral classification which he had himself arbitrarily adopted; leaving the question whether his object were historical or mythical just where it was, but with the balance rather in favour of the former. But we have no intention to concede to our objector, however disinterested his desire for it, the existence of any negligence or blunder here. If we began the second tessarodecad, as some propose, with David, and ended it with Josias, the last king named as wholly antecedent to the captivity,—and if we similarly began the third series with Josias, and ended it with Joseph, in whom the assertion of proper paternity ceases,—we should thus have in each of these, as in the first from Abraham to David, fourteen names including the first and last⁹. But there is a less exceptionable manner of consulting the integrity of the numbers, without either impairing the continuity of numeration by any double reckoning, or omitting the sacred name of Jesus from the third series. It is by beginning this last series with the captive king Jechonias and ending it with Christ. For this we are free to do when we bear in mind, what is abundantly clear from the history, that the last-named Jechonias, truly called such, of Matt. i. 12, is not identical with, but the son of the one mentioned in the preceding verse; their names, though differing in the Hebrew, being very commonly confounded in Greek¹⁰. Of the earlier one, the son of Josiah, the Scholiast

⁹ This is the method of Storr, *Opuscula Academica*, Tom. III. pp. 1—4 (Tübing. 1803), and seems the favourite one of the later German critics.

¹⁰ 2 Kings xxiii. xxiv.; 2 Chron. xxxvi., &c. Hieron. in *Matthæum*: “Si voluerimus Jechoniam in fine prioris tessarodecadis ponere, non erunt quatuordecim. Sciamus igitur Jechoniam priorem ipsum esse quem et Joakim, secundum autem filium non patrem: quorum prior per *k* et *m*, sequens per *ch* et *n* scribitur; quod scriptorum vitio et longitudine temporum apud Græcos Latinosque confusum.”

The confusion mentioned by the learned Father between the names יהויקים and יהויכין may be instanced among the Latins by St Ambrose, who, in giving the same solution precisely as was afterwards given by Jerome, speaks of *duos Joachim, hoc est duos Jechonias* (*Comm. in Luc.* III. Lib. 3 cap. ult.): and among the Greeks by St Clement of Alexandria, who, after describing the reign of Jehoia-kim, says, Μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ ὁμώνυμος αὐτοῦ Ἰωακίμ τελευτηνὸν βασιλεύει (*Strom.* Lib. I. p. 241, ed. Heins.). It is highly probable that the habit of considering the two names as identical existed among the Hellenist Jews in Alexandria and elsewhere some time before the Christian era.

of one of the Moscow MSS. truly says, οὗτος καὶ Ἰωακείμ ἐκαλεῖτο, since he, i. e. Jehoiakim, alone could be said to have brethren (Johanan the eldest, Jehoahaz or Shallum the youngest, but his predecessor in the kingdom, and Sedekiah or Mat-taniah the next brother to himself, who reigned after his nephew's captivity), whereas the son, Jehoiachin, Jeconiah, or Coniah, had but one brother, if any¹¹ (1 Chron. iii. 15, 16):—a circumstance which may help to evince the spuriousness of the insertion made in some respectable MSS. of the New Testament, after Ἰωσίας δὲ ἐγέννησε, of the words τὸν Ἰωακείμ· Ἰωακείμ δὲ ἐγέννησε, with a view to remedy the deficiency which the above Scholion sufficiently supplies to the text as it stands. It is extremely futile to object, as Strauss does¹², to this insertion that, instead of filling up the deficient place in the third tessarodecad, it only superadds one to the second, which is complete already: for what is there in the text of St Matthew, dividing the tessarodecads at the captivity, to forbid our closing the second with Jehoiakim the son of Josiah? Surely nothing: when we read in the last chapters of the Kings and of the Chronicles that he was the first of the successors of David that suffered by the Babylonian invader: when we learn further from the latter of these (as from Dan. i. 1, 2) that the actual captivity began in his day¹³, and that he was himself put

¹¹ It is most probable that the Sedekiah of 1 Chron. iii. 16, is not a son of Jehoiakim, but a repetition of the name of his brother, who was his last successor in the kingdom of Judah. *Vid.* Jun. *in loc.*, Grotius on *St Luke*, and Mr Burring-ton's work on the *Genealogies of Scripture*, Vol. I. p. 239 seq. But whatever be the decision of that question, it is a most uncritical, as well as presumptuous, proceeding of Kuinoel and Fritzsche in their several notes on Matt. i. 11 to reject the words καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ as interpolated, on no other account than the historical difficulty they find in the statement.

¹² Strauss, Vol. I. p. 158: "Freilich würde.....die Einschaltung des Jojakim den Mangel in der dritten Reihe nicht ersetzen, sondern nur die zweite überzählig machen." This is true only on the supposition that King Jeconiah, who reigned but three months, and that after the first capture of Jerusalem, the remainder of his long life being wholly spent in exile, must by all means belong to the series *before* the captivity, and cannot possibly be considered as the head of the series following.

¹³ 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7. Accordingly, of the ten captivities enumerated by the Jews (viz. four under the several Assyrian conquerors of the ten tribes, four under Nebuchadnezzar, one under Vespasian when the temple was destroyed, and one, lastly, under Adrian), this of Jehoiakim is made the fifth, i. e. the first of the Chaldean four: the other three being the great captivity of Jeconiah, when the best of the nation were carried away, then that of Sedekiah, when the city and temple were burnt, and lastly the destruction of the fugitive remnant in Egypt after the murder of Gedaliah. Joseph Hebræus, *De decem Captivit.* pp. 280—283. Basil, 1559.

in chains to be taken to Babylon, had not his natural death in the city of his fathers prevented it.

This is enough and too much to say on this alleged inconsistency in the Evangelist's own division of the genealogy into three series of fourteen, which our author has followed Porphyry and some Jews in making a ground of captious objection¹⁴. The deficiency of one in the list, were it even admitted, would be but the same which may be seen in a contemporary Jewish tradition recorded by Philo¹⁵, making two decads and a hebdomad from Adam through Noah and Abraham to Moses. There the first decad from Adam to Noah is complete, including both of these progenitors of mankind, as is also the second decad, proceeding thence without repetition (and therefore beginning with Shem) to Abraham the father of the faithful; precisely like the first two periods of St Matthew. But the third period, the hebdomad, more perfect than either according to the ingenious Alexandrine, can no otherwise be made out than by including Abraham again in it; just as would be the case in St Matthew's third period, were we obliged to reckon

¹⁴ Hieron. *in Dan.*: "Ob hanc causam in Evangelio secundum Matthæum una videtur deesse generatio; quia secunda τεσσαροδεκάς in Joakim desinit filio Josiæ, et tertia incipit a Joachin filio Joakim. Quod ignorans Porphyrius calumniam struit Ecclesiæ, suam ostendens imperitiam, dum Evangelistæ Matthæi arguere nititur falsitatem."

¹⁵ Ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν παραύξησιν ἄχρι δεκάδος, ἀριθμοῦ τελείου, λήψεται [τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος], καθ' ἣν ὁ δίκαιος Νῶε συνίσταται· δευτέραν δὲ καὶ ἀμείνω τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Σὴμ ἐτέραν δεκάδα τελευτώσαν, ἥς Ἀβραὰμ ὁ πιστὸς ἐπώνυμος· τρίτην δὲ καὶ τελεωτέραν δεκάδος ἑβδομάδα ἀπὸ τούτου μέχρι Μωυσῆ τοῦ πάντα σοφοῦ παρήκουσαν· ἑβδομος γὰρ ἀπὸ Ἀβραὰμ οὗτός ἐστιν, οὐκ ἔτι κατὰ τὸν ἔξω τῶν ἀγίων κύκλον, οἷα μύστης, εἰλούμενος, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἱεροφάντης ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις ποιούμενος τὰς διατριβάς. Philo, *de Posteritate Caini*, Opp. Tom. I. p. 259.

The distribution of this triple period of ten, ten, and seven, and its complete analogy with the case of St Matthew,—supposing (what however is not admitted) that only one Jechonias is reckoned by him—may be seen in the following scheme:

PHILO.

- | | | | |
|------|--|---|------|
| I. | Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, | } | (10) |
| | Jared, Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech, Noah. | | |
| II. | Shem, Arphaxad, Selah, Eber, Peleg, | } | (10) |
| | Reghu, Serug, Nahor, Terah, Abraham. | | |
| III. | Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Kohath, Amram, Moses. | | (7) |

ST MATTHEW.

- | | | | |
|------|---|---|------|
| I. | Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Judas, Phares, Esrom, Aram, | } | (14) |
| | Aminadab, Naasson, Salmon, Booz, Oberl, Jesse, David. | | |
| II. | Solomon, Roboam, Abia, Asa, Josaphat, Joram, ••• Ozias, | } | (14) |
| | Joatham, Achaz, Ezekias, Manasse, Amon, Josias, • Jechonias. | | |
| III. | Jechonias, Salathiel, Zorobabel, Abiud, Eliakim, Azor, Sadok, | } | (14) |
| | Achim, Eliud, Eleazar, Matthan, Jacob, Joseph, Jesus. | | |

but one Jechonias. The deficiency, whatever may be thought of it with respect to the mystical analogies of Philo, is too little repugnant to the usage of arbitrary memorial numeration among the Jews¹⁶, to constitute the least real objection to the credit of the Evangelist. I proceed to matters of graver moment, and much more to the purpose of Strauss's argument, viz. the alleged sacrifice of historical truth to this numeration by the Procrustean retrenchment of royal generations, and the alleged insertion of some non-historical particulars in the genealogy.

To the former description—beside the omission, which has been shown to be apparent only, of Jehoiakim after Josiah in the second tessarodecad—is referred the earlier and certain omission from the same series of three successive kings, Ahaziah, Joash, and Amasiah, whose names, if inserted, would make the number seventeen instead of fourteen. The Evangelist's words in v. 8, Ἰωρὰμ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ὀζίαν, are therefore inconsistent with historical fact, unless they can be understood to mean that Joram was Uziah's progenitor, viz. the grandfather of his grandfather. This then is the question we are called on to decide. Did the genealogist, having before him an Old Testament statement to the effect that Ἰωρὰμ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ὀχοζίαν Ὀχοζίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωᾶς Ἰωᾶς δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀμεσίαν Ἀμεσίας δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ὀζίαν, pass on, after the manner of heedless transcribers, from Ὀχοζίαν to Ὀζίαν, misled by the great similarity of the names¹⁷, and, having thus erroneously skipped three generations, ground afterwards upon his own mistake the estimate of fourteen names between David and the captivity? Or did he, after having previously fixed

¹⁶ This is shown in several examples by Lightfoot on St Matthew, and by Surenhusius, *de Genealogia Christi*, p. 140 seq. But in the example produced by Schoettgen in his Talmudical notes on St Matthew, mentioned, but for a different purpose, by Strauss (p. 105, not.), we have another remarkable instance of a failure of complete accuracy, in making from Abraham to Solomon fifteen generations of increasing prosperity, corresponding to the days of the waxing moon, and again from him to Sedekiah fifteen, to correspond with the wane, terminating with the putting out the king's eyes. The first quindecad is accurate according to the Old Testament genealogies, as may be seen from the list just given; but, beginning the second according to rule with Rehoboam, we cannot even thus extend the quindecad so far as Sedekiah, his father Josiah being the fifteenth (when we include the three kings between Joram and Uziah).

¹⁷ I am reasoning here with those who believe the Greek text of St Matthew to be the original. But conceiving it to have been, as antiquity attests, originally written by the Apostle in his own language, the transition is not so easy: for the actual names יהויהוה and עזיהו, beginning with different letters, do not furnish the same materials to the mistake of a transcriber as the Greek representatives of those names, Ὀχοζίας and Ὀζίας.

the number fourteen, to suit the older series ending with David, designedly omit the generations in question, so as not to exceed that number in the series of kings? Either way, as Strauss would contend, the transcendent credit claimed by Christians for this Gospel is destroyed. But, by our author's leave, if the latter should be the true solution, there is yet another question to be asked before the destructive conclusion can be established: and that is, whether is the designed omission of a deceptive character or not? In other words, does the genealogist presume on ignorance in his readers of the historical truth of certain three generations that he would suppress, or is he acting in good faith and sympathy with them, merely calling the attention of all, the learned in history as well as the uninstructed, in a manner generally intelligible, to the leading points in the matter presented to them? It is not difficult, if we enter into the Hebrew modes of thinking and writing, to estimate the comparative probability of the opposed answers to both the primary and the subsequent question.

Let us conceive for a while that the enquiry were respecting a writing that had no pretension to the character of inspiration, the following Samaritan poem for instance, which I translate from Gesenius's *Anecdota Orientalia* (fascic. i. p. 40), because it contains a genealogical statement exactly parallel in its circumstances to that of St Matthew here. The author is speaking of Adam and his descendants: (I give the original words of the verses containing the genealogy in what we commonly call the Hebrew characters, instead of those really such, which the Samaritans have retained, and in which their dialect, the language of this poem, is properly written.)

עשרה ועשרה	ושלשל תולדותו	7.
אל אברהם בן תרח	אל נח אל שם אל עבר	8.
אל אמור מה נורא	אל האיש הלז	9.
כל שבט לו תדירה	דקם ממו שנים עשר שבט	10.
מנה ירשרה	וחסוד לוי קם והסגילות	11.
אל קדקד עלמה ונצרה	אל קחת אל עמרם	12.
שמש עלמה ומאורה	משה איש האלהים	13.

1. He raised the heaven of heavens;
and constructed the stars and the great luminary;

2. And spread forth the earth without a pillar;
and in it caused herb and seed to spring up:
3. He gathered the waters into seas;
and drew forth from the archetypal image
4. ADAM, for the completion of all created beings,
who was formed from the dust of Mount Safrah;
5. Perfecting him after the similitude and form of His children,
neither adding ought, nor taking away.
6. And He placed him in the garden of Eden,
to cultivate and to guard it:
7. *The chain of whose genealogy
is by ten and ten—*
8. *To NOAH, to Shem, to Eber,
to Abraham the son of Terah,*
9. *To the man, "This is he," [viz. Isaac],
to him who said, "How dreadful!" [viz. Jacob];*
10. From whom arose the twelve tribes,
each tribe being His for ever:
11. *But Levi was the highly-favoured, and the peculiar possession;
from whom the chain proceeds thus—*
12. *To Kohath, to Amram,
to the summit of the world and its diadem,*
13. *MOSES, the man of God,
the sun and luminary of the world:*
14. Whose light burst forth,
and rose from the East;
15. Who trod in the midst of fire,
and spoiled fortified places,
16. And ascended into heaven:
and the Law was given into his hand;
17. The Law which to every one that sees,
prescribes and determines every thing.
18. The peace of the LORD be upon him,
from extremity to extremity.

The meaning of the passage from the 7th to the 13th verses can be no other than this: that as there is a decad complete and accurate from Adam to Noah inclusive,—(a mystery of the number ten observed by the rabbinical Jews, as well as by this Samaritan,)—so do we obtain a second decad to Moses the man of God, by taking the names after Noah which he enumerates as links in his "chain," (vv. 7, 11), viz. Shem, Eber, Terah,

Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Levi, Kohath, Amram, Moses. Such, I submit, is the author's certain meaning. For to suppose, as his very learned editor has done, that the second decad terminates with Abraham, as did the first with Noah, is to consult the historical accuracy of the poet¹⁸ at the expense of the clear drift of his whole discourse: which is to trace the line of descent from Adam to Moses,—from him who was created after the image of the sons of God, *i.e.* the angels, to him who is conceived as endowed with super-human splendour, the crown and perfection of humanity. From his mere passing notice of Abraham as the son of Terah, compared with his six verses of panegyric on Moses, it is clear that the former could not be the termination of his “chain:” and that in his eyes, as in those of the Pharisaical Jews, the receiver of the Promise was an inconsiderable person compared with him that gave the Law. This then being the author's meaning, the same questions arise in his case as in that of the sacred genealogy we are reviewing. Did he ignorantly omit the two names between Shem and Eber, and the four between the latter and Terah, and ground upon this mistake his notion of a postdiluvian decad to Moses? Or did he, after having derived the idea of this decad from the antediluvian one, which was accurate, proceed to adjust the series to this numeration, purposely omitting those names which would make the number sixteen instead of ten? This is the first and principal question: which, if solved according to the latter supposition, will leave another, *viz.*: Was his designed omission intended to impose upon his readers as to the matter of fact, or does he reckon upon it as understood by them, while intending to deduce a certain meaning, true or imaginary, from the names selected?

Now in the case of this author, and others that might be produced to the same effect from among the Jews, there can be no doubt as to the answer which unprejudiced readers will re-

¹⁸ See the scheme in note 15, *supra*. Our poet prefers the continuity of decads to annexing an imperfect hebdomad, with Philo, to the second decad, in order to reach to Moses: unwilling, apparently, to give Abraham the pre-eminence above Moses that would thus be afforded,—agreeably to the account, given by Philo elsewhere, of the import of the decad. *Αὐτίκα τὸν Νῶε ἡμῖν (πρῶτος δ' αὐτος δίκαιος ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἀνεβρόθή γραφαῖς) ἀπὸ τοῦ διαπλασθέντος ἐκ γῆς εἰσάγει δέκατον, οὐκ ἐνιαυτῶν πλῆθος ἐπιστῆσαι βουλόμενος, ἀλλὰ διδάξαι σαφῶς, ὅτι ὥσπερ δεκάς ἀριθμῶν τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος ἐστὶ πέρασ τελειότατον, οὕτω τὸ δίκαιον ἐν ψυχῇ, τελειὸν καὶ πέρασ ὅτως τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον πράξεων.* *De Congressu*—Opp. Tom. I. p. 532, ed. Mangey.

turn to both the above questions. The familiar acquaintance with the Pentateuch exemplified in his references to the introduction of Isaac to Rebecca, and to Jacob's exclamation at Bethel, in Gen. xxiv. 65, xxviii. 17, prohibits the supposition of the names of Arphaxad, Selah, Peleg, Reghu, Serug, and Nahor, in the same book, being unknown to him : while his mode of reference to those events, showing that he presupposes in his readers a knowledge like his own, equally precludes the hypothesis that he had any hope or thought of deceiving them by the suppression of those names. And the same reasons which compel this answer in the case of the Samaritan poet tell with surely no less force for St Matthew ; who in thus exhibiting to the earliest Christians of Palestine the ancient royal genealogies, occurring also in the Old Testament, with whose oracles he ever supposes them conversant, cannot, where he omits, omit from ignorance, or from fraudulent reckoning upon ignorance in his readers, but must be considered as using a liberty of abridgment well known to them, and only inviting, as quite sufficient for his own purpose, attention to the names he retains.

Should it be said, that abridgments of this nature, however justifiable in ordinary writers from the lax mode of criticism characterizing their nation or age, are not to be endured in one laying claim to inspiration, we answer, 1. That such a censure—continued after the removal of what would be indeed, if true, serious and fatal objections to the genealogy, the imputation of either ignorant mistake or deception—assumes a kind of *à priori* acquaintance with what should be expected in a revelation, which we cannot either claim for ourselves, or allow to be claimed by others. 2. That supposing the apparent fact to be no more than this, that the inspiration which enabled a few men of Galilee to regenerate the world left them under the influence of their national habits in matters of this nature, we ought to be satisfied with that fact, without questioning the reasonableness of the dispensation. 3. That we do not, however, pronounce a thing indifferent, or done without reason, merely because we may be unable to point out the causes of it : being fully persuaded that there is nothing in revelation, as in Nature, without its proper and adequate reason. When Ezra, in detailing with apparent particularity his own lineal descent from Aaron, contracts twenty-two or perhaps more generations

belonging to this millennial interval into sixteen¹⁹, by calling Azariah, who was high-priest at the dedication of the first temple, the son, not of Johanan his father, but of Meraioth his ancestor at the distance of six generations,—and probably also by calling himself the son, instead of the grandson or great grandson, of Seraiah, the last high-priest who officiated there, as we read in Jer. lii. 24—27,—it is perhaps idle to seek any other reason than the desire of abridgment, and the consequent omission of names that had no remarkable association connected with them. The same may be said when in that book of the Chronicles, which enables us to supply the preceding deficiency, we find, from Reuben the first-born of Israel to the captivity of his tribe by the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser, but twelve generations at most specified, (some of them appearing to be collateral), and probably only nine, for a period of nine centuries (1 Chron. v. 3—6); and when in many other instances of the same book (iv. 1, compared with ii. 4, 5, 7, 18, 19, 50, &c. &c.) we find lineal descendants spoken of as sons²⁰: an observation which may probably be extended, as we shall perceive hereafter, to one part of those genealogies in the same chapter which belong to St Matthew's first tessarodecad. But that there is some

¹⁹ Compare Ezra vii. 1—5 (or the Greek 1 Esdras viii. 1, 2) with 1 Chron. vi. 3—15, where the six names between Meraioth and Azariah, which the former passed over in the genealogy of Seraiah from Aaron, are supplied. The comparison will of itself show the groundlessness of the attempt of Lud. Capellus to refer the omission to an erroneous transition of the librarians; such as might, but for the specification of number, have been much more plausibly suspected in Matt. i. 8 (*Vid.* p. 154, *sup.*). Had this been the case here, (to say nothing of the consent of all the copies both of the Hebrew and Alexandrine editions of Esdras), there are, at least, five other places in the complete genealogy at which such a transition might have been far more easily made than from Johanan יוחנן to Meraioth מריאות, viz. from one name to another *identical with it*, either in the case of the *twice* occurring Amariah, Ahitub, or Sadok, or of the *thrice* occurring Azariah.

²⁰ We should have another remarkable instance of a remote descendant being placed as a son, if, with Bishop Lowth and J. D. Michaelis, we could identify the four names of men celebrated for their wisdom, Ethan the Ezrahite, Heman, Chalcol, and Darda, in 1 Kings iv. 31, with those mentioned as sons of Zerah the son of Judah, in 1 Chron. ii. 6 (*De Sac. Poes. Heb. Prelec.* iv. Tom. I. p. 47, and II. p. 39). But that the persons are not the same, and that the coincidence of names, though remarkable, is merely accidental, appears from the first-mentioned two (who were the authors of the 89th and 88th Psalms respectively, and, like Asaph, contemporaries of David) being certainly Levites and not of Judah; as we find by comparing the same book of Chronicles, ch. xv. 19, with the genealogies of those three Psalmists in ch. vi. 33—48.

* [In the first edition this stood "Ahimaas אַחִימַעִי," which was corrected by the author with the following remark]: "I have myself exemplified the transition process by skipping from one of the three Azariahs to another, viz. (in ascending with Ezra, I skipped) from Johanan's son in 1 Chr. vi. 10 to his father of the same name in the verse preceding, who was the son of Ahimaas."

further mystery in the adoption of this division by the Apostle and Evangelist, and in the omission from this second tessarodecad of three particular kings rather than others equally or even more impious, as Christians have remarked as well as Strauss, we may well join the most earnest and profound thinkers in believing: whatever we may think of the success of the attempts that have been made to penetrate the mystery and unfold the reason. St Hilary and St Jerome seek a reason in the idolatrous pollution of the alliance with Ahab and his Sidonian consort, of whose daughter Athaliah, espoused to Joram, the first omitted king [that is, Ahaziah] was the son²¹: a pollution which, as the merit of its removal procured to the founder of the next reprobate dynasty in Samaria, who slew this Ahaziah and other sons of Joram, a session on his throne to the fourth generation (2 Kings x. 30), continued analogously to exercise for the same duration a quasi-destructive influence on the accepted house of David, in which, accordingly, after a vengeance of three complete generations, agreeably to the menace of the Decalogue, this blighting stain was cleared away, and the express genealogy resumed. St Chrysostom is more cautious, and by leaving the question of the three omitted kings to exercise his auditors' powers, at the commencement of his fourth Homily on St Matthew²², while proceeding to discuss minutely other questions arising out of the genealogy, implies apparently his inability to supply a satisfactory answer. Such is, however, the declared sentiment of one who frequently follows him, the judicious commentator Euthymius Zigabenus²³; who, after observing that the proposition, "Joram begat Ozias," is verified by the fact of the latter being the fourth lineal descendant of the former, adds, that the reason for omitting the three particular kings that lie

²¹ Hilarius in *Matthæum*, cap. 1: "Tres enim [generationes] ratione præteritæ sunt: nam...in Matthæo Joras Oziam genuisse dicitur, cum quartus ab eo sit: hoc ita est quia ex gentili familia Joras Ochoziam genuit, ex Achab scilicet, qui Hiezzabel habuit uxorem," &c. &c.—Hieronymus in *Matthæum*: "Quia Evangelistæ propositum erat tres tessarodecadas in diverso temporum statu ponere, et Joram generi se miscuerat impiissimæ Jezabel, idcirco usque ad quartam generationem ejus memoria tollitur, ne in sanctæ nativitatis ordine poneretur."

²² Τίνος δὲ ἕνεκεν ἐν μὲν τῇ μέσῃ μερίδι τρεῖς παρέδραμε βασιλεῖς, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐσχάτῃ δώδεκα θεῖς γενεὰς, δεκατέσσαρας αὐτὰς εἶναι ἔφησε; Τὸ μὲν πρότερον ὑμῖν ἀφιημι ζητεῖν κ.τ.λ.

²³ Ἄλλ' ὅτι μὲν Ἰωράμ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ὁζιάν ὡς ἀπόγονον αὐτοῦ, δῆλον· διὰ τίνα δὲ λόγον οἱ τρεῖς παρεῖδον, ὡς εἰρηται, βασιλεῖς, οὐδὲς πω μέχρι καὶ νῦν εἶπε· πάνυ γὰρ ἀπορος ὁ λόγος τοῖσγε κατὰ τὰς ἡμετέρας γενεὰς, ὅτι μηδὲ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν τις ἔλυσε τὸ ζητούμενον. Euthym. Zig. in *Matt.* Tom. 1. p. 33, ed. Matthæi.

between them was unknown, having escaped the sagacity of all, at least till his time, who had attempted its discovery.

A graver accusation than that of the omission of known names from an abbreviated genealogy is that which imputes to the Evangelist the introduction of a mythic particular unknown to the ancient Scripture, in stating that Rahab the Canaanite was married to Salmon, the sixth from Judah, and thus became an ancestress of David and of Christ; and also a departure from older and more authentic records in the subsequent genealogy of the captivity. A slight examination will prove the groundlessness of both these imputations.

The paternal genealogy in St Matthew, from the first-born of Judah to David, agrees exactly with that which closes the book of Ruth, and is repeated in 1 Chron. ii. 9—15, a trifling variety in this sixth name (Salmon, Salmah or Salma) occurring in the two Old Testament authorities. Of the five names preceding his, Phares, Hesron, Ram, Amminadab, and Nahshon, Moses has mentioned the first two as son and grandson of Judah, in the book of Genesis²⁴, among those who went into Egypt with Jacob, and the last two in the books of Exodus and of Numbers: Nahshon son of Amminadab being recorded in the latter book as prince of the tribe of Judah in the desert, two years after the passage of the Red Sea²⁵, and his sister Elisheba daughter of Amminadab being mentioned in the former as wife of Aaron²⁶, mother of Eleazar and Ithamar, and consequently of the whole sacerdotal family. Thus far the number of generations agrees well with the time in question,—Nahshon and Elisheba being removed by five generations from Judah, though Aaron, already aged at the period of the Exodus, was but three generations distant from Levi. That the son therefore of this Nahshon, born

²⁴ Gen. xlv. 12. Ram the son of Hesron, who is the Aram of St Matthew, together with his brothers Jerahmeel and Caleb the elder (1 Chron. ii. 9, 18, 42), is unmentioned by Moses; as are most of those who were born and died between the descent into Egypt and the Exodus. See note 28, *inf.* (Amminadab, who is named by Moses only to designate his son and daughter, perhaps died also in Egypt: it is at least a precarious conclusion that some draw from Cant. vi. 12, that he was the leader of the hosts of Judah through the Red Sea. See Nic. de Lyra in Matt. i. 4.)

²⁵ Numb. i. 7, vii. 12—17.

²⁶ Exod. vi. 23. In the alliance of this first Elisabeth, of the tribe of Judah, with the sacerdotal house of Levi, we may trace the probability of the opposite case in the New Testament, viz. how Elisabeth, the wife of Zacharias, though herself also of the tribe of Levi and family of Aaron, might be related to the blessed Virgin of the tribe of Judah. A double alliance of Aaron with the tribe of Judah was made by his sister's marriage with Hur of the house of Caleb. See note 28, *inf.*

to him in the wilderness, should be among the leaders of those who invaded Canaan under Joshua, and one of the captors of Jericho, is quite in the natural order of things: and therefore on the side of the prior generations, every chronological consideration is in accordance with the circumstance of his marriage with Rahab; whose signal benefit to the people of Israel procured her a name and an inheritance among the people of God, and a celebrity among them to all after ages, as the first eminent instance of heathen faith directed to the God of Abraham. Neither does the silence of the book of Joshua concerning such an event furnish any argument or fair presumption against its truth,—as it might have been far more probably deemed, had the matter in question been the espousal of Rahab by Joshua himself;—such being indeed one of the traditions of the Babylonian Talmud, adduced also by R. David Kimchi in his commentary on the book of Joshua²⁷. But considering how little is said in that sacred book, full as it is in describing the partition of Canaan among the several tribes, concerning the exploits and even the names of the subordinate leaders of Israel, with the single exception, for which there is a special reason, of Joshua's old associate Caleb, and his son-in-law Othniel, in chapters xiv. and xv., there is nothing surprising in the circumstance that it should pass over in total silence Salmon son of Nahshon,—who, though of an older branch of the tribe of Judah than Caleb, was in deeds and in age his inferior,—and consequently the marriage of that chief with Rahab. But conceiving an event so remarkable as the marriage of this Gentile proselyte with a leading man of Judah and son of the late prince of the tribe to be committed to the traditions of the whole nation, we have in this a good and adequate foundation for the extant Rabbinical stories respecting her. It is most natural and agreeable to the usual process of such oral transmissions, that this should be exaggerated into her nuptials with the greater chief of

²⁷ See Lightfoot on *Matth.* i. 5; the Jewish Doctors treating this as an unwelcome fact, which they labour to explain in accordance with the general exclusion of Canaanites, even though proselytes, from such alliance with Israel, by giving out that Rahab was not of that nation, but of some other Gentile tribe, and only sojourning in Jericho! The words of the *Gemara Babylonica*, as translated by Lightfoot, are, “Traditio est eam, proselytissam factam, Josuæ nupsisse.” This is after the same authority had said, “Octo Prophete, iidemque Sacerdotes, orti sunt a Rachabe, atque hi sunt Neriah, Baruch, Seraiah, Maaseiah, Jeremiah, Hilkiah, Hanameel, et Shallum. Dicit R. Judah, Huldah etiam erat e posteris Rachab.” *Megillah*, fol. 14, 2.

Ephraim, the successor of Moses in the universal command,—or again, that it should be altered to the other false stories which Lightfoot has mentioned, assigning several distinguished priests as her descendants; when we bear in mind her near affinity with the sacerdotal house of Aaron, through her husband's paternal aunt, the mother of them all.

Thus decided are the proofs of the synchronism of Salmon and Rahab, which we derive from the books of the ancient Scripture that are silent concerning their union. Another consideration to the same purpose may be added, though involving more of conjectural inference. As Bethlehem Ephratah is known from the books of Samuel and Ruth as the patriarchal seat of Jesse, of Obed, and of Boaz, it is impossible not to conceive it to have been the seat of Salmon also. It is therefore very remarkable that the second chapter of the first book of Chronicles, which in the 11th verse mentions him in this same genealogy as Salma the son of *Nahshon*, should in the 51st speak of "Salma the father of Bethlehem," but as the son of *Caleb*; this Caleb,—the patriarchal occupant of the cities of southern Judæa,—being the son of Hur, the next in dignity to Moses and Aaron, who was the son of an elder Caleb the son of Hesron, by his second wife called Ephratah: her name being thus found affixed by the piety of her descendants to that ever-memorable city of David's house²⁸. Is it not a very possible,

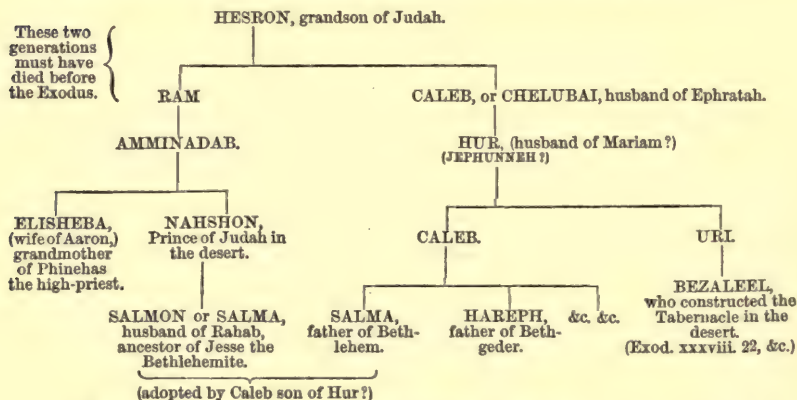
²⁸ To this second marriage of Caleb the son of Hesron, from which sprang "Hur the first-born of Ephratah," and from him the younger Caleb who in the conquest of Canaan gave that name to Bethlehem (as we read in 1 Chron. ii. 18—20, 50—54, iv. 4), we must also refer the 24th verse, "Cum autem mortuus esset Hesron, ingressus est Caleb ad Ephrata: habuit autem Hesron uxorem Abia quæ peperit ei, &c. &c.," as St Jerome, no less than the LXX., translated the Hebrew words, ואחר מותיהצרון בא כלב אפרתה. (For the version into which the Masoretic בְּכָלֶב has led many, but not all, modern interpreters, viz. "After that Hesron was dead in Caleb-Ephratah, then Abiah, Hesron's wife, bare him, &c. &c."—beside the incongruity immediately apparent in it, and the equally unheard of and unhebraic name which it gives to Bethlehem,—contains a chronological impossibility: for nothing is more certain than that Hesron must have died in Egypt, like his father and grandfather who brought him thither: and, most probably, his three sons also, Jerahmeel, Ram, and Caleb.)

The Rabbinites have a singularly unanimous tradition that this Ephratah the mother of Hur was Mariam the sister of Moses and Aaron. So the Chaldee Paraphrast (published by Beck, Aug. Vind. 1680) on 1 Chron. iv. 8, 17, severally: the *Pirke Eliezer*, p. 120, ed. Vorst., and many others. This tradition (though coupled in the latter work and in the Talmudic tract *Sota* with the absurdity of making Caleb's former wife Azubah to be Mariam leprous and therefore *forsaken* עֲזוּבָה, and this Ephratah, married after the other's death, to be the same Mariam restored and *flourishing* אֶפְרַתָּה) is not to be altogether despised. It would account for Hur, as Mariam's son, being associated with Moses and Aaron on the two memor-

not to say a most probable supposition, that the Salma of both verses, each being lord of Bethlehem, and certainly contemporary, (being fourth in descent, though by different lines, from

able occasions of Exod. xvii. 10—12, and xxiv. 14. But the older tradition (ap. Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 2. § 4) is, that Hur was the husband of Mariam: *κελεύει τὸν τε ἀδελφὸν Ἀαρῶνα καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Μαρίας τὸν ἄνδρα Οὐρωνα (Ἰού) σπάντας ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ διακπαρεῖν τὰς χεῖρας*, &c. &c.—It is for the synchronisms of descent that I observe this connexion of Hur with Aaron (who, according to the Jews, built the idolatrous altar of Exod. xxxii. 5, “when he saw” Hur slain by the people whom he was sharply rebuking!). He might well be either a brother-in-law, as Josephus says, or a nephew, as the Targumist: for he was fourth in descent from Judah, while Aaron was third from Levi.

But the chronology is altogether opposed to another prevalent Rabbinical tradition recorded by the same Targumist on 1 Chron. iv. 15, &c., which makes the father (not the son) of Hur to be the faithful Caleb of the book of Numbers, the only Israelite, beside Joshua, who reached Canaan from Egypt; and which, consequently, identifies Jephunneh (whose son that Caleb is ever termed in the books of Moses and Joshua) with *Hesron*. The chronological difficulty of this, perceived even by Kimchi, is too strong to be overcome by the consideration of the name of Achsa belonging to the daughter, and Ziph to a grandson, of both of these Calebs (comparing 1 Chron. ii. 9, 42—49 with iv. 15, 16, Jos. xv. 15—19, Judg. i. 11—15), names which might well recur after two generations, like that of Caleb himself. Every historical consideration impels us rather to make the Jephunneh of Num. xiii. a surname of the Hur of Exod. xvii. xxiv. xxxi. xxxv.: for the account in Jos. xv. 13—62 of the conquests of Caleb the son of Jephunneh in the mountain-tract of southern Judæa exactly answers to what we read of Caleb the son of Hur in 1 Chron. ii. 50—54 first occupying that tract, and making his sons patriarchal rulers in its several cities*. The synchronisms of this genealogy, as bearing on the subject of Rahab, will be best seen in the following scheme:



The reason given in the text for identifying the Salmas of vv. 11 and 51 in 1 Chron. ii. is much strengthened by verse 54, understanding *Ataroth* עֲטָרוֹת to be the diadems in the house of David, and *Joab* his well-known kinsman the son of Zeruah.

* It is no sufficient objection to this, that Caleb the son of Jephunneh has a separate mention of himself and his descendants in 1 Chron. iv. 15, 16, when the disjointed character of those genealogies is considered. That pedigree stands scarcely more apart from that of Caleb the son of Hur in ii. 50—55, than do the two of Caleb the son of Hesron from each other in ii. 18—20 and 42—49.

Hesron the grandson of Judah,) may be the same?—viz. that Caleb may have adopted as heir of Bethlehem the son of his second cousin Nahshon (the great-grandson, like himself, of Hesron), and that in that relation only Salmon might be named as his son? If so, it would be but one additional instance of a double legal paternity supplied to us by the Old Testament in illustration of the New. Our present subject is however solely concerned in the remark, that the number of generations from Jacob to the conquerors of Canaan in every way confirms the contemporaneous position of Salmon and Rahab.

The only difficulty lies in the subsequent generations. For while the number (six) from Judah to Salmon corresponds exceedingly well to the interval of 255 years²⁹ from the descent into Egypt to the capture of Jericho, we have remaining from Salmon to David only four generations for as many centuries, after the utmost contraction of the period of the Judges to which the usual reading of 1 Kings vi. 1 has given occasion. And this difficulty, which led a Dutch Professor³⁰ of the last century to construct an elaborate demonstration, as he deemed it, that the Rachab of Matthew must be a different person from the Rahab of Joshua, is indeed insuperable, except by recurring to the patriarchal longevity in this later period³¹, *if it be assumed*

²⁹ As the argument turns less on the absolute duration of these generations than on their number *as related to the known history of the Israelites at the time*,—viz. the concordant synchronisms of the generations from Judah to Salmon with those from Joseph and Levi respectively to Joshua and Phinehas, the certain contemporaries of Rahab,—it is not necessary to discuss the opinion which would make this interval one of 470 years instead of 255. The question regarding this is, whether Exod. xii. 40 is to be rigorously understood as meaning that the *whole* 430 years there mentioned were spent in Egypt, or only the last 215; the other half being the time of previous sojourn in Canaan, agreeably to Gal. iii. 17. As for the Samaritan and LXX. reading of *καὶ ἐν γῇ Χαναάν* in the passage of Exodus, it seems to have been a gloss intruded into the text.

³⁰ G. Outhovii *Dissertatio de Raab et Rachab*, occupying pp. 430—436 of Class. III. fascic. 3 of the *Bibliotheca Historico-Philologico-Theologica*, Amst. 1720. Kuinoel (on Matt. i. 5) speaks of this writer's argument as if it were unanswerable; but whether it is reasonable to suffer the apprehended impossibility of the *father of Boaz* (i. e. of Jesse's grandsire) being contemporary with Rahab to overpower the absolute certainty of the *son of Nahshon* (the chief of Judah in the desert) being so, let the attentive reader determine. This last synchronism would have been certain, even if St Matthew had said nothing of the marriage, and Jewish tradition had nothing to confirm it. And so Strauss himself confesses (Vol. I. p. 161, note 10).

³¹ Eusebius, in the first part of his *Chronicle* (restored to us from the Armenian, Tom. I. pp. 156—166, ed. Aucher, Ven. 1818, or ap. Ang. Maii, *Scriptorum Veterum Collectio Nova*, Tom. I. pp. 71—76, Rom. 1833), when contending against the long duration of the Judges which Africanus had maintained after St Paul in the Acts, and which would give to each of the five generations from Naasson to David 130 years, avails himself, as the great support of his argument, of that

as certain that no generations are omitted. But there is no certainty in the assumption which suggests a conclusion so glaringly improbable as this; that the usual course of the genealogy should be departed from, to insert the name of an obscure and otherwise wholly unknown female, rather than that distinguished Gentile believer whom the Evangelist's words have suggested to all Christians³² not under the influence of critical difficulties, as included, by anticipation of the future calling of the nations, in the genealogy of the universal Redeemer: while nothing can be imagined weaker than the other arguments drawn from the discrepancy of 'Paàß and 'Paχàß for רַהַב³³, and the absence of the usual epithet 'Paàß τῆς πόρνῆς. The instances already alleged show clearly that there is no absolute necessity for supposing the chain completely given in all its links from Salmon to David: and there are besides special indications that lead to the belief of unmentioned links in this case. Such is the enumeration among the Judges of Ibsan of Bethlehem, who succeeded Jephthah, and judged all Israel seven years, who had thirty sons and as many daughters and daughters-in-law, and was buried in Bethlehem (Judg. xii. 8—10): and who if not identical with Boaz, as we find distinctly asserted in the Targum of Jonathan, the Jerusalem Talmud, and other repositories of Jewish tradition³⁴, must have been,

ascription of 480 years to the interval between the Exodus and the building of the Temple. But even thus (after deducting largely for David's reign and the beginning of Solomon's), he cannot reduce those generations to less than the still primeval length of $\frac{480-44}{5}$, or 87 years each: while the more probable estimate,

to which the consideration of Judg. xi. 26 and other passages, as well as Acts xiii. 18—21, would lead us, is much higher than this. If Salmon be the immediate father of Boaz, there is no gainsaying the truth of G. J. Vossius's remark (*De Genealogia Christi*, p. 37), "Sane si annos computemus, agnoscemus Booz, Obed, Isai, cum gignerent, jam centenarios fuisse."

³² The first and only ancient in whom there is the least appearance of doubt as to St Matthew's 'Paχàß being the Rahab of Joshua, is Theophylact in the 11th century. The same doubt, entertained by Masius and a few other moderns, was drawn out into open denial by the above-mentioned Outhov, also by Burrington *On the Genealogies of the Old Testament*, Vol. i. p. 192, 4, &c.

³³ It is well known that according as the Hebrew ך is considered as expressing the sound of the Arabic ح *cha*, or that of the mere hard aspirate ח *hha* (to both of which it answers in various roots), it is represented in Greek by χ, or by the *spiritus asper*, sometimes even by the *lenis*: and that this variety in different words is sometimes found even in the exhibitions of the same word,—as we shall have occasion to observe hereafter.

³⁴ So Rabbi David Ganz, in his *Chronography* entitled צמח דוד [Germen Davidis] (fol. 6), when relating the magistracy of Ibsan; "In his days was the history of Ruth. Our Rabbies of blessed memory, in the chapter Hamocher, say

equally with him and Obed and Jesse, the head of the family in that city of Judah, and consequently in the main patriarchal line from Salmon to David. The latter supposition gives us one at least of the additional links we desire: while the former, identifying Ibsan and Boaz, requires between him and the husband of Rahab, an insertion of several generations, to fill up the period of the Judges Othniel, Ehud, Deborah, Gideon, Abimelech, Tola, Jair, and Jephthah³⁵, with the intermediate periods of servitude or anarchy. The generations between Boaz and David correspond better with the period of the five Judges following Ibsan, viz. Elon, Abdon, Samson, Eli, and Samuel, including the subsequent reign of Saul: but whatever may be thought of this identity, there is much greater verisimilitude in conceiving a chasm before Boaz than after him, either wholly or partially, in the genealogy³⁶. This will appear if we consi-

that Ibsan was Boaz: because from the transactions of Boaz it appears that he was a Judge, and a Bethlehemite: and there is not found among all the Judges one of Bethlehem, except Ibsan." He afterwards cites R. Levi ben Gershon as an authority for this identity. It were possible, indeed, with Maldonat, to conceive the other Bethlehem of Manasseh to be the country of Ibsan: but it is far more probably understood, as all the Jews take it, of the better known Bethlehem Ephratah of Judah.

³⁵ In his remarkable message to the king of the Ammonites (Judg. xi. 14—28), Jephthah states the period then elapsed since Balak's fruitless consultation against Israel to be 300 years: which, after every possible allowance for rounding the number, will give to the interval from Nahshon chief of Judah in the desert to his own time—conceived as the time of Boaz—a length most absolutely incompatible with the supposition of only two generations.

³⁶ That Boaz, the husband of Ruth, was not the immediate son of Salmon and Rahab, but their great grandson, living at or near the time of Eli, is no novel hypothesis. Nicolaus de Lyra, who united in an uncommon degree the qualifications of a Jewish and a Christian commentator on the Hebrew Scriptures, writes thus on Ruth ii. 1: "*Dicunt Hebrei quod Elimelech socer Ruth et Salmon pater Booz fuerunt fratres: et sic maritus Ruth [Mahelon] et Booz erant consanguinei germani. Sed primum dictum videtur falsum, quia Salmon qui genuit Booz de Rahab fuit tempore Josuæ, et accepit uxorem Rahab post destructionem urbis Jericho, quia tunc fuit copulata populo Israel, ut habetur Josuæ vi.: hoc autem fuit circa principium ducatus Josuæ: a principio vero ducatus ejus usque ad Abesan quem Hebræi dicunt esse ipsum Booz, fluxerunt anni celxxii., et multo plures usque ad Heli.....Propter quod dicunt doctores nostri, et bene ut videtur, quod tres fuerunt Booz sibi succedentes, quorum primus fuit avus, secundus filius, et tertius nepos: primus fuit filius Salmon, quem genuit de Rahab, et tertius fuit iste qui genuit Obed ex Ruth: et hoc idem dixi super Matt. i. cap., ubi isti tres sub uno nomine comprehenduntur.*" This is far less liable to objection than the method more recently tried by Houbigant and Kennicott for supplying one additional generation to the long period between Nahshon and Boaz, by an ingenious inference deduced from the text of Ruth iv. 19—22: where, since the son of Nahshon

is called שלמה *Salmah* in v. 20, whereas in v. 21 שלמון *Salmon* is made the father of Boaz, they conceived the words וְשַׁלְמָה הוֹלִיד אֶת־שַׁלְמוֹן to have been omitted by an error of transcription, the two verses originally standing thus: "And Amminadab begat Nahshon: and Nahshon begat Salmah: and Salmah begat Salmon: and Salmon begat Boaz, &c." For while this hypothesis is

der the marks apparent in the book of Ruth³⁷ of a settlement in the land of Canaan, and at Bethlehem in particular, of longer standing than that of a single generation,—and the position of that book in the canon of Scripture as a family record, of evidently no distant date, of the great king called from that place to rule God's people Israel, an earnest and type of the Eternal Ruler, his descendant, who should issue thence hereafter.

If then it be asked, why, in all the genealogies of the Old Testament as well as of the New, there should be such an omission of generations between Salmon and Boaz as this argument would lead us to advocate as probable,—whether it is to be imputed to the manifold distractions of that most unsettled period of Hebrew history, causing all but the great patronymic names to be less carefully kept, or to any special divine and mystic purpose overruling all secondary causes in the consignment of Holy Scripture,—I conceive it no irrational answer to confess ignorance of the precise causes in question, while attentive to any light that may be presented on the subject. But we assert an equal ignorance of the causes on the part of the adversaries: and Strauss is defied to point out any such evident human purpose on the part of the compiler of this genealogy, as should warrant him to compare his proceeding, either in the omission of generations, or in the manner of introducing the two Gentile ancestresses of the Messiah, to that of a philosopher constructing a system³⁸. In the present instance the supposed purpose, whether of philosophic or other subtlety, must be carried much higher than the Evangelist, to the books of Ruth and of the Paralipomena, in the minds of the human authors of which books no thought of the calling of the Gentiles, or of any other properly Christian

altogether gratuitous, no MS. or version containing the words in italics, it has far less to commend it historically than that of Lyra: for neither is its one inserted generation sufficient to remove the supposition of *extreme* longevity from this long period, nor does it solve, like his, the supposed difficulty of St Matthew's text, viz. how Boaz's father *Salmon* could be the husband of *Rachab*.

³⁷ Ruth i. 1, 2, 19; iv. 15, 17.

³⁸ Strauss, Vol. I. p. 165: "Diese apriorische Behandlungsweise seines Stoffes, das Prokrustesbette, auf welches er, fast wie ein construirender Philosoph, denselben bald dehnend, bald verkürzend legt, kann für den Verfasser unserer Genealogie kein günstiges Vorurtheil erwecken." This insolent language ill befits a writer whose preceding criticism, so far from throwing any light on the systematic purpose thus confidently imputed to the genealogist, consists of mere random conjectures, without even the pretence of certainty, as to his meaning in the several parts; and who has moreover produced nothing, except the falsely assumed repetition of the name of Jechonias, to justify his Procrustean simile in the least as to the essential particular of *extension*, or interpolation of names.

purpose, will be supposed predominant. Still less were such views present to the minds of those Rabbies who repeat (from traditions older than themselves, and directly contrary to their own anti-ethnic prejudices) the descent of the great and wise of Israel from her who was the harlot of Jericho. If then we have an *intentional* adaptation of circumstances, it is one not intended by St Matthew (for its sources and materials lay not with him), but by the Spirit that directed him and the Prophets also, in this close juxtaposition of Rahab and of Ruth, the wives respectively of Salmon the conqueror and of Boaz his peaceful successor, in the land of Christ's nativity;—of her whose faith beheld in the God of Israel the sure eventual extirpator of the powers of idolatry and wickedness, and of that other Gentile proselyte in more tranquil times, (who, among the recorded mothers of this list, beside the Blessed Virgin, is alone without stain,) who discerned in the same God and in the Church of His redeemed the only eligible portion and sure resting-place in the world³⁹.

The other alleged instances of departure from the ancient records by St Matthew are yet more easily disposed of than the preceding. If the Evangelist terms Zorobabel the son of Salathiel, he does this with the nearest contemporaries, Ezra the priest and the prophet Haggai, who so constantly term him⁴⁰: the other contemporary Zechariah differing from his fellow-prophet in never distinguishing by any patronymic ad-

³⁹ Of the enquiries raised by Chrysostom on St Matthew's genealogy (*Hom. i.*) the fourth is this:—Why the Evangelist, when tracing Christ's descent through Joseph rather than the Blessed Virgin, should mention mothers at all: and if any, why not all? or, if a selection were made, why not the distinguished matrons of Israel, as Sarah and Rebecca? whereas, omitting all these, he mentions only the incestuous Tamar, the harlot Rahab, the forlorn Moabite Ruth, and the adulterous wife of Uriah. His answer in the Third Homily is that as the Word was incarnate "not to shun our disgraces but to remove them," it became Him even thus to be exhibited as not disdaining to be born of sinners; (as St Ambrose says: "ut maculatæ originis non recusaret injuriam, simul ne puderet Ecclesiam de peccatoribus congregari:") or as St Jerome, "ut qui propter peccatores venerat, de peccatoribus nascens, omnium peccata deleret;") showing, moreover, more distinctly in the case of Ruth, that it is by "forgetting her own people and her father's house" (Ps. xlv. 10), i. e. by renouncing the deeds of unregenerate nature, that the Gentile Church is united to the celestial Bridegroom. The equally pious and solid remarks of these and many other Fathers—making Rahab and Ruth types of the Gentile Church,—as well as the mystery observed in the name רחב *enlargement*, and the scarlet ensign adumbrating, according to the spirit of the older æconomy, the blood of the universal Redeemer which should make the two one, are considered as fair subjects of ridicule by one who exercised a great and deleterious influence on the theology of the last century. (Whitby, *de S. S. Interp.* pp. 44—46.)

⁴⁰ Ezra iii. 2; v. 12. Haggai i. 1, 2; ii. 2.

dition the oftmentioned names of Zorobabel the prince and Joshua (or Jesus the son of Josedec) the high-priest. If then we read, in 1 Chron. iii. 19, that Zorobabel was the son of Pedaiah the brother—or (according to another manner of understanding vv. 17, 18) the son⁴¹—of Salathiel; that is only an instance, in the former case, of the law or custom by which the natural child of one brother might be reckoned legally to another⁴², and yet continue to be set down severally to both; but, in the latter case, of the omission of one generation in the specification of descent, a man being termed the son, because perhaps the immediate heir, of one who was in fact his grandfather. The example, in either of the two cases (of which the former is the more probable and generally received), is obtained, as it should be particularly observed, from the comparison of the books of the Old Testament exclusively with each other, not from any necessities of the adjustment of the New with them; on which account I have used the testimonies of Jewish writers chiefly on the subject. Again, if any one, pursuing the latter mode of interpreting the word בְּנוֹ “his son” in the Chronicles, should imagine Salathiel to be there represented not as the immediate son of Jeconiah, but of Assir⁴³, the son (real or adopted) of that unfortunate king, this would be only a further instance of an omitted generation: but there is, in truth, no necessity for such an insertion between Salathiel and Jeconiah, if Assir be not so much as an elder brother of the former (as implied in our translation, the Vulgate, LXX, &c.), but a mere epithet of the latter, denoting this very circumstance of captivity, as it is understood by several, both Christian and Jewish⁴⁴, inter-

⁴¹ So Vatablus, Junius, Piscator, Surenhusius, Hug (in the *Friburg Journal*), &c.

⁴² Among the many who held the opinion of Pedaiah being the brother of Salathiel, is F. Spanheim; who conceives that, the latter dying childless, the former according to the Levirate law begat Zorobabel of Salathiel's widow. Zorobabel was therefore legally the son of Salathiel, but naturally of Pedaiah. But the learned Rabbi, Aben Ezra, agreeing as to the natural and legal parentage, understands the matter differently, viz. that Salathiel, being childless, adopted in his lifetime and educated the son of his deceased brother Pedaiah, or, as he singularly calls him, Rephaiah, as his own; והוא זרובבל בן רפיה אחי שאלתיאל מְבַנֵּי יְכִינִיָּה וּבַעבוֹר שְׁגָדְלוֹ דִּירוֹ שְׁאֵלְתִּיָּאֵל קְרָאוּ עַל שְׁמוֹ בְּנוֹ; &c. &c. Aben Ezra, in *Hagg.* i. 1 (alleging immediately afterwards the example of Pharaoh's daughter in Exod. ii. 10, and of Michal in 2 Sam. xxi. 8).

⁴³ So Hug. *ut sup.*; and before him Chemnitz (as cited by Spanheim, *Dub. Evang.* Vol. i. p. 115) with many others.

⁴⁴ Particularly Kimchi and Abarbanel: the latter thus referring to 1 Chron.

preters. Nor is there more force in Strauss's remark concerning the absence of the name of Abiud, the next to Zorobabel in St Matthew's last series of fourteen generations, from the list of that prince's eight children in 1 Chron. iii. 19, 20: since that name (אבִיּוּד *Father of the Jews*), if not a cognominal epithet either of the elder son Meshullam or the second Hananiah⁴⁵, by whom the line of heads of David's house proceeded after the captivity, may probably belong to a descendant of one of these, and at the distance of three or more generations. For the series proceeding by eldest sons or heirs from Zorobabel to Christ, a period of five centuries and a half, requires a number of generations not much less than the series of nearly equal duration from David to Zorobabel, in which (supplying the three omitted kings) the number of generations through Solomon and Jeconiah is certainly twenty: the omissions therefore, in the later and more obscure period, must have been much more numerous than in the other, to have reduced the number to eleven.

iii. 17: "כתוב ובני יכניה אסיר שהיה חבוש בבית האסורים שאלתיאל ונו" *It is written, And the sons of Jeconiah Assir, so called because bound in the house of captives, were Salathiel, &c.*" (Abarbanel, in *Haggæum*, ii. 23). Such is also Luther's version of this place: "Die kinder aber Jechanias, der gefangen ward, waren Sealthiel, Malchiram, Phadaia, &c.:" and such also is the meaning assigned to אֲסִיר in the Geneva French version, the Italian of Diodati, and the Latin of Tremellius and Junius. Lightfoot and Surenhusius advocate this version: "Filli Jeconie *vincti* (vel *incarcerati*), Shealtiel, &c." as most agreeable to the accents and the order of the words: and such was also the opinion of Hug, when he wrote his *Introduction to the N. T.* Part II. ch. i. § 68, though he has since changed his mind.

⁴⁵ The former opinion, identifying Abiud with Meshullam, is preferred by Vatablus, Lightfoot, &c.: the latter by M. J. Beck, the editor of the *Targum on the Chronicles* (Aug. Vind. 1680, pp. 53—59), who is led to this preference by the singular desire of identifying St Matthew's eleven generations from Zorobabel to Jesus Christ with the ten, supposed prophetic, in 1 Chron. iii. 19—24. According to the best reading of that passage (on which, see note 57 inf.), the ten names of direct descent from Zorobabel, excluding all collateral names of brothers, stand thus (all totally dissimilar to those of the Evangelist), Hananiah, Jeshaiiah, Rephaiah, Arnan, Obadiah, Shecaniah, Shemaiah, Neariah, Elioenai, ANANI. The strange notion that this Anani, the last of the seven brothers that close that chapter of the Chronicles, is the King Messiah who is to come in the clouds (עֲנַנִי) of heaven, Dan. vii. 13, but who is yet in some manner withholden from appearing to the world, is found in the above-mentioned Targumist: also in the *Bereshit Rabba*, as quoted at length in Hebrew and Latin by Raymond Martin (*Pugio Fidei*, Lib. III. d. III. ch. 9, p. 769, ed. Lips.), though the passage, according to Beck, is not in the Venetian edition of that work, printed A.M. 5563. It is found also in Tanchuma, as quoted also in the original by Beck in his notes on the Targum; and in the commentary of R. Solomon Jarchi, who writes, עֲנַנִי שְׁבַע, "ANANI, seven: he is the King Messiah of whom Daniel writes" (ch. vii. verse 13, *ut sup.*). Now though this Jewish tradition is certainly deserving of some attention, as indicating the line in which the Christ was expected, and that at the distance of not many generations from Zorobabel, the belief of Anani being the promised Messiah is too absurd for serious comment.

The consistency of St Matthew's genealogy with itself and with older authorities,—or, to say the least, the absence of all difficulties but such as might well belong to a document unquestionably historical,—has been, I trust, sufficiently argued. We now approach the other genealogy, of St Luke: which, agreeably to the more Gentile character that distinguishes the structure and authorship (though not the narrated events⁴⁶) of the third Gospel, deduces the parentage of the Saviour not merely from the fathers of Israel, but from the common progenitors of mankind,—tracing the fleshly descent of the second Adam, the Lord and Restorer of humanity, from its first possessor, the immediate offspring of God. This genealogy, which proceeds upwards in a contrary order to that of St Matthew, and which agrees exactly with his names, and those of the Old Testament, in the ascent from David to Abraham, introduces two farther series, from Abraham to Noah, and from Noah to Adam, in both which the genealogies of the book of Genesis are exactly followed. In one place only of the later or postdiluvian period, where the Alexandrine version of the Pentateuch differs from the Hebrew text both of the Jews and of the Samaritans by the insertion in the third place from Noah of the name *Cuinan* (the same with that of the patriarch who holds the corresponding place from Adam in the antediluvian period), our Gospel, following the LXX. reading, introduces this name, unknown to the original text, between Salah and his father Arphaxad. Now the opinion that maintains⁴⁷, against the testimony of the double

⁴⁶ I insert this parenthesis as a needful protest against the position of our present adversaries, that the subjective mind of the writer (such, for instance, as would lead the Apostle of the Hebrews to attach himself to the royal succession of Christ from David and Abraham, and the Hellenist physician to the natural descent from David and Adam) is the actual parent of the *matter* of his narrative, instead of the objective facts presented to him independently of his will from without. So far is this from being the case with the first and third Evangelists respectively, that we may trace, in the facts severally presented to them in this earliest portion of our Lord's history, an ample refutation, as from Divine Providence on the matter, of this infidel position. For while it is the Gospel of the Circumcision, and that alone, that tells of the Eastern Magi and their offering, the firstfruits of the converted Gentile world (Matt. ii.), it is the Gospel of the Gentiles alone that has preserved to us the Angelic Annunciation to St Mary of the Davidic royalty of her Son, His devotion by circumcision to fulfil the righteousness of the Law, and His presentation in the temple of Jerusalem before God, with the offerings and the purification of the Virgin Mother (Luke ii.). On the system of the mythists, these purely Jewish circumstances of the Nativity should have been told by the Hebrew Gospel, and the summons of the heathen sages by the other.

⁴⁷ Pezron (*L'Antiquité des Temps rétablie et défendue contre les Juifs et les nouveaux Chronologistes*), ch. 6. Jackson (*Chronological Antiquities*), &c.

custody of the original in Palestine, that the Greek reading is the true one in Gen. x. 24, xi. 12, 13, and by consequence also in 1 Chron. i. 18⁴⁸, we find rejected not only by the great mass of those with whom the Hebrew text has the highest authority throughout the Western Church, but by many of the principal names in the earliest ages of Christianity, when the authority of the LXX. was the highest⁴⁹. Still less tenable is the opinion, which, in order to reconcile the critical verity of the original text of the Old Testament in this respect with the historical truth of an additional generation, supposes that Moses purposely omitted a leader of idolatry, Cainan the son of Arphaxad, whom the Alexandrine tradition, confirmed by the divine authority of the third Gospel, has preserved to us; his supposed purpose being to leave unencumbered a complete postdiluvian deced from Shem to Abraham inclusive, answering to the antediluvian one from Adam to Noah⁵⁰; an intention of which his words exhibit no trace, and to which the chronological contexture of his genealogy is plainly adverse. If these hypotheses on the side of the second Cainan are untenable, there is equal reason on the other hand against the view of Grotius, Bochart⁵¹, and other learned men, who willingly avail themselves of those early testimonies which omit that name, as proofs that the reading did not exist in the Greek copies of the Old Testament in their time; and who imagine that the error originated with the Christian transcribers, the only guardians of the Septuagint text in the period that followed the fifth century, altering it to make it correspond with the existing reading of St Luke. This opinion, con-

⁴⁸ It is very remarkable that in the repetition of the names, only six verses after this (viz. 1 Chron. i. 24), Καϊνὰν does not occur between Ἀρφαξὰδ and Σάλα: a discrepancy which greatly weakens, if it does not destroy, any testimony that the LXX. version might be conceived to bear to the original text as having once contained that additional name.

⁴⁹ Antecedent to Eusebius and Jerome we have, beside the Jews Philo and Josephus, the Christian chronologers Julius Africanus (*Chron. fragm.* x. ap. Routh, *Reliq. Sac.*) and Theophilus of Antioch, *Lib. iii. ad Autolyicum*, making Arphaxad the immediate father of Sala; as does also Epiphanius in *Hæres.* lv. § 6, and, by implication, Origen in *Joann.* making ten generations from Noah to Abraham, and consequently omitting Cainan.

⁵⁰ Sallianus in *Annal. Eccles.* and some others (Vid. Spanheim. *Dub.* xxiii. §§ 6, 7, 8, 30). For these decada, see note 15, p. 153.

⁵¹ *Phaleg.* *Lib. ii. cap. 13.* Archbishop Usher, with better judgment, gives up the notion of Cainan being an interpolation subsequent to the Christian era in the text of the LXX; but contends that though found of old in the Κοινή ἐκδοσις as in the Lucianic recension of that text, it was absent from the more genuine Hexaplar edition: an opinion unconfirmed either by ancient testimony, or by the more recent collations of Holmes and others. (*De LXX. versione Syntagma*, p. 188 seq.)

sistent and plausible enough in itself, will not bear comparison with the actual facts of the case. For were the authorities that omit the second Cainan from the Greek Pentateuch even more numerous and respectable than they certainly are, their negative testimony would be outweighed by the least positive witness that spoke to the fact of the name being read before: and such testimony we have, not from one quarter but many, to the existence of that reading not only at the time of the Fathers in question, but as early as the second century before the Christian era⁵². Neither can we support by documentary evidence the position, however likely it might appear to us on other grounds, that the name of Cainan is an interpolation in St Luke, and ought to be expunged from the text, a step actually taken by Theodore Beza in his Latin version. This freedom of the Genevan Doctor is in vain sought to be defended by his admirer and champion F. Spanheim, in his learned dissertation on this subject in the *Dubia Evangelica* (Tom. i. p. 187).

⁵² The strongest among the negative testimonies alluded to, because accompanied with an express reference to the LXX, are found in the Armenian version of the Old Testament, and in the Chronicle of Eusebius. The former, the work of St Mesrop and St Isaac in the fourth century, though made avowedly from the Septuagint, and generally expressing the Alexandrian readings of that version, differs from that and from every existing recension of the Greek text, in omitting the second Cainan from Gen. x. 24 and xi. 12, 13. The latter, in the 1st book of his elaborate work, is avowedly comparing the Greek with the Hebrew and Samaritan chronology, and maintaining the superiority of the former, which, beside its many intrinsic claims to preference, was received by the whole Christian Church without question before the time of St Jerome: but he never speaks a word of the postdiluvian Cainan, but reasons exactly as if his copy of the LXX, differing only in numbers from the Hebrew text, read with it that "Arphaxad begat Salah." Yet even these two authorities, and others in like manner, were almost certainly influenced in this omission of Cainan, not by the copies of the LXX. they used, but by the conviction that on this point the Hebrew reading must be truer than the Greek. For in the case of the Armenians, it is remarkable that in 1 Chron. i. 18 they should forget themselves and insert the Cainan whom they had expunged from the exactly corresponding place, Gen. x. 24; thus betraying that the Greek original before them read the name as certainly there as in Luke iii. 36 (where their version, like all others of the N. T., has this Cainan). As for the Bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine, there can be no doubt that his polemic difficulties with the Jewish and Samaritan chronologers were the cause of his not encumbering himself with this dubious additional name; and that in suppressing its existence in the LXX, he made himself justly liable to the severe animadversions of his constant adversary Georgius Syncellus, who alleged, and doubtless with truth, that this name was read in the copies of all the Churches throughout the world. (Vid. Euseb. Chron. ed. Arn. Tom. i. p. 257.)

Thus too Epiphanius, though omitting Cainan (*ut sup.* note 49), while disputing with the Samaritans, who identified Melchisedek with Shem, yet includes him in *Hæres.* LXVII, and two other places, where there was no reason for withholding the reading of the Greek Pentateuch. (Vid. Hody, *de Bibli. Text. &c.* p. 269 seq.) Also S. Ephraem the Syrian, though in his commentaries on Genesis, p. 156, by numbering twenty generations only from Adam to Abraham, he virtually excludes Cainan, yet mentions him in the very next paragraph. (See note 55. *inf.*)

For Beza's ancient Græco-Latin MS.⁵³ (Griesbach's D) once at Lyons, but now in the University Library of Cambridge, will not authorize such a conclusion; its testimony on this matter of the genealogy being not only solitary and unsupported, but intrinsically worthless. For a scribe who so recklessly cut the knot of the discrepancy of the two Evangelists, as to alter all the names in St Luke from Joseph upwards to Zorobabel, and from Salathiel to David, to make them identical with those in St Matthew, would as little scruple omitting a single name in the ante-Abrahamic portion of the same genealogy, to reconcile it perforce with the text of Moses.

We are thus led in this intricate subject to the conclusion which Strauss has with tolerable fairness expressed here⁵⁴—viz. that this genealogy of St Luke exhibits, in the most authentical copies now extant, one ante-Abrahamic name which is not found in the genuine text of the Pentateuch, but was inserted there, previously to the Gospel, by the LXX. interpreters. The difficulty arising to the believer from this circumstance, and which, thus truly stated, caused wonder and perplexity to our Venerable Bede, is of the same nature precisely with that arising from those citations from the same version in the New Testament, in which there appears a departure from the grammatical sense of the Hebrew text. In these instances we may often discern a moral meaning, either identical with that of the original text, or a fuller development of it, brought out by the same Spirit who spake by the Prophets, and who more intimately hallowed the Apostles of the new dispensation; and sometimes even what might be thought the mistake of the old translators seems overruled for the same purpose. Such considerations do not indeed appear applicable to the reading of a name in a genealogy: nor would I enquire whether any historical truth may be involved in this; as e.g. that the things

⁵³ That this was Beza's great authority for his proceeding he evinces by saying, "In meo illo venerandæ vetustatis codice Cainan hic non legitur." The learned G. J. Vossius, though agreeing with Beza as to the probable fact, thinks that the liberty he took with the sacred text is one that, on a controverted matter, no individual was privileged to assume. (*De Gen. Christi*, p. 23.)

⁵⁴ Vol. I. p. 166. "Auch in der vorabrahamischen Geschlechterreihe findet sich die Abweichung, dass zwischen Arphachsad und Sela Lukas einen Καϊνδν einschreibt, welcher im hebräischen Texte 1 Mos. x. 24. xi. 12 ff. sich nicht findet, übrigens schon von den LXX. eingeschaltet war. Nämlich im dritten Gliede der ersten Reihe, von Adam an, hat auch der Grundtext diesen Namen, und von da scheint ihr die Uebersetzung an die gleiche Stelle der zweiten Reihe, von Noah an gezählt, verpflanzt zu haben."—*See Bedæ Pref. in Acta Apostol.*

traditionally asserted by the Rabbins of the antediluvian Cainan the third from Adam, as an introducer of idol-worship and astrology, are rather true of the third from Noah, to whom the Hellenist tradition actually refers them⁵⁵; and that this third, though really Salah, was also called Cainan; as if the words, instead of the genealogical τοῦ Καϊνάν, were τοῦ καὶ Καϊνάν. As the adversary has not dwelt on this difficulty, though greater than many others which he has found or attempted to create, we have less occasion to do so here.

The only other alleged contradiction to the Old Testament in St Luke's genealogy is in what concerns Salathiel. The circumstance of his being called the father of Zorobabel has been already justified from the Ancient Scripture, when discussing the same point in the first Gospel (pp. 169, 170, *sup.*);—and as to his being the son of Neri, since this needs conciliation not only with the first book of Chronicles, but with St Matthew, its consideration will more properly belong to the section following. For the rest, the objection that the ascent to David in this Gospel proceeds through obscure names, for which there is no control in the Old Testament, is not very compatible⁵⁶ with the obser-

⁵⁵ S. Ephraem Syrus, in *Genes.* cap. 18 (Opp. Tom. I. p. 156. ed. Rom.):

[illegible]

they (Terah, Abram, &c.) were yet in the land of the Chaldees, the inhabitants had there a goodly and magnificent temple, in which was placed a graven god called *Cainan*, whom they worshipped; but the true God they knew not." That this was Cainan the son of Arphaxad we are told also by Gregorius Bar-Hebreus in his *Chronicon* (p. 8, ed. Bruns et Kirsch). "This Cainan and his years are not reckoned by Eusebius in his *Annals*; nor are they in the Hebrew Bible or in our Syriac, though Luke mentions him in the Gospel. It is said that he invented Chaldaism (i.e. astrology); and his sons worshipped him as a god, and set up his image: and hence the worship of images began." Michaelis, in *Supp. Lex. Heb.*, pp. 2183, 4, understands the very name קַיִן (which he thinks here an epithet of Salab) as denoting a *metallic image*, alleging the Arabic قَيْن a blacksmith, and

applying this to Gen. iv. 22, &c. ; referring also, in a special Essay on the subject, to this tradition concerning Cainan. Other testimonies to the same tradition are given in Dr John Gregorie's Dissertation, entitled "*Καὶνὰν δεύτερος* ; or, a Disproof of him," pp. 91, 92 ; who seems seriously to conceive them all true as referred to the *antediluvian* patriarch, Cainan the son of Enos, whose sepulchre is asserted by certain Rabbies to have been seen in India by Alexander the Great !

⁵⁶ Strauss, Vol. I. p. 166: „auch von Seiten des A. T. fehlt ihr die Controle grossentheils, weil sie von David und Nathan an fast durch lauter unbekannte Geschlechter herabläuft, von welchen sich im A. T. kein Stammbaum findet. Nur in zwei Gliedern berührt sie von da an eine im A. T. erwähnte Linie, in Salathiel

vation elsewhere, that it is a circumstance in favour of this genealogy rather than the other, that, while making Jesus a descendant of David, it does not pretend to trace his descent by the royal line. And with respect to the assertion that in the only one of the more recent parts which is capable of being so controlled, Rhesa and the names preceding in the ascending list are wholly diverse from Zorobabel's descendants as named in that book of the ancient Scripture, I will merely express my conviction that the allegation is incorrect. I believe that in the name of Σμεῖ, the fifth from Zorobabel, St Luke's list exhibits the Shemaiah of 1 Chron. iii. 22; who, according to the Syriac and Arabic interpretations of that rather obscure pedigree, is there also the fifth⁵⁷, (though the most approved reading makes

und Serubabel: kommt aber eben hiedurch im Widerspruch mit 1 Chron. iii. 17, 19 f., indem sie den Salathiel einen Sohn von Neri nennt, da doch nach der angeführten Stelle Jechonia sein Vater war; als Sohn Serubabels aber einen Resa namhaft macht, welcher in der Chronik unter Serubabels Kindern fehlt." Id., p. 177: "so scheint, wenn gewählt werden sollte, zunächst Manches für die des Lukas zu sprechen....Ausserdem macht sich die Geschlechtstafel des Lukas dadurch weniger eines verherrlichenden Bestrebens verdächtig, als die des Matthäus, dass sie, mit der Davidischen Abkunft überhaupt zufrieden, das Geschlecht Jesu nicht wie jene gerade durch die königliche Linie herunterführt." Yet he immediately afterwards balances this *favourable* circumstance by saying, that on the other hand it is far less probable that a private genealogy should have been preserved! It is hard to deal with inconsistent expectations like these, in which publicity and obscurity are alike by turns made grounds of antecedent improbability. But the latter objection will be considered hereafter.

⁵⁷ There are four modes of exhibiting the offspring of Hananiah the son of Zorobabel, according to the ways in which respectable authorities read and interpret 1 Chron. iii. 21.

The first is that of the present most common Hebrew text, expressed in our version thus: "The sons of Hananiah, Pelatiah, and Jeshaiah; *the sons of* Rephaiah, *the sons of* Arnan, *the sons of* Obadiah, *the sons of* Shecaniah. And the sons of Shecaniah, Shemaiah: and the sons of Shemaiah, Hattush, &c.*" This, if intelligible, yet leaves the number of generations undetermined.

The second is that which, with the ancient interpreters generally, and several Rabbinical authorities also (e. g. Tanchuma and the *Bereshit Rabba*, in the places referred to in Note 45, *sup.*), reads יְהוֹנָדָה, "*his son*," instead of בְּנֵי, "*the sons of*," in the four places marked in Italics. This gives the meaning which Luther's German version and others express. "The sons of Hananiah were Pelatiah and Jeshaiah, whose son was Rephaiah, whose son was Arnan, whose son was Obadiah, whose son was Shecaniah. And the sons of Shecaniah, Shemaiah, &c." *ut sup.* This clearly exhibits Shemaiah as the *seventh* from Zorobabel.

The third is that of the Syriac and Arabic versions, reading also יְהוֹנָדָה in the above four places, but referring the suffix י in the third place not to the Arnan immediately preceding, but to the Jeshaiah preceding at the interval of two, who is again named as the father of Obadiah (instead of his great-grandfather). They

* J. G. Dahler (*de librorum Paralipomenon Auctoritate atque Fide historica*, Argent. 1819), who adopts this reading without mention of any other, considers all after Jeshaiah to the end, reaching to the age of the Macedonian conquest, as interpolations (pp. 4, 5, 16, 17). But his reason applies not even to vv. 23, 34: for Neariah, whose seven grandsons close the chapter, was contemporary with Ezra, who compiled the Chronicles perhaps during their infancy.

him the seventh,) and that his son *Ματθαῖος* and great grandson *Ναρυαί*, in the Evangelist's line, may be respectively identified with the Neadiah and the Anani (אנני) in that of the Paralipomena, as read by the LXX. Ascending towards Zorobabel from this Shimei (whom I conceive to be very probably mentioned also in Zech. xii. 13), his father *Ἰωσήφ* (as the Vatican MS. with the Coptic and Armenian versions gives the name), and his grandfather *Ἰούδα*, must be respectively the Shecaniah and the Obadiah of the Chronicles: whence also, if we adopt the above-mentioned Syrian reading of the passage, Obadiah's father Jeshaiah would be found in St Luke's *Ἰωαννᾶ* or *Ἰωανᾶν*, and his grandfather Hananiah, son of Zorobabel, in *Ῥησά*, a name in the Hebrew and Aramean languages denoting headship. But according to the more common reading, *Arnan* and *Rephaiah* would be found respectively in the *Ἰωανᾶν* and *Ῥησά* of the Evangelist, a somewhat nearer approach to a coincidence of names. But as this hypothesis is subject to the difficulty, according to the latter approved reading, of making

must have pointed and read the text thus: "The sons of Hananiah were Pelatiah and Jeshaiah, whose son was Rephaiah the father of Arnan, and also Obadiah the father of Shecaniah. And the sons of Shecaniah, Shemaiah, &c." This makes Shemaiah the *fifth* from Zorobabel, as in St Luke. (But the confusion of generations in the verses that follow in both these versions, and their omission in them of the numbers that define the collateral names, impair the value of their testimony to this interpretation of v. 21.)

The fourth is that of the LXX. and the Vulgate Latin, which also reading *בְּנֵי יְדִיָּה* in the above four places, attaches them to the preceding instead of the subsequent name throughout, and therefore necessarily adds it also in a fifth place at the end of v. 21, where it is not in the Hebrew. "The sons of Hananiah were Pelatiah, of whom Jeshaiah was the son, Rephaiah his son, Arnan his son, Obadiah his son, Shecaniah his son. And the sons of Shecaniah, Shemaiah, &c." This would make Shemaiah the *eighth* from Zorobabel.

A historical test which proves the second interpretation to be truer than the fourth, and must even strongly incline us to the third in preference to both, is found in the circumstance, that *Hattush* the son of this Shemaiah (and eldest brother of Neariah or Neadiah, by whom the lineage of the Messiah appears to proceed), was contemporary with Ezra; being commemorated by him as the head of David's house who accompanied him from Babylon. For though this was as late as the reign of Artaxerxes Mnemon*, still the interval from Zorobabel is too short to allow of more than six generations. Cf. Ezra viii. 2, 3 and 1 Chron. iii. 22.

* Not Artaxerxes Longimanus, (Heb. *Artahsashta*, the son and successor of *Ahshuerosh* or Xerxes,) who, as we learn from Ezra iv. 6, 7, was the king that stopped the building of the temple which Zorobabel upon Cyrus's edict had begun, until Darius II. renewed the edict, and (*Artahsashta* or) Artaxerxes II. allowed Ezra and Nehemiah severally to carry it into effect. This is clear from the succession of Persian kings in those chapters of Ezra (which the names on the Zendic monuments will not permit us to apply to other kings than Xerxes and his son), beside this argument from the number of elapsed generations. (With respect to the difficulty opposed to this conclusion by Ezra v. 1, 2, Hagg. i. 1, and Zech. i. 1, see Hottinger's *Pentateuch Dissertationum*, pp. 107–114, also p. 186 *inf.*)

Rhesa, if identified with Rephaiah, to be the great grandson, instead of the immediate son, of Zorobabel, as represented in St Luke, and as there is no other known instance of an omission of two *Scriptural* links in his genealogy, while the twenty generations he enumerates from Zorobabel to Christ certainly require no addition to complete the number due to that interval of time, I will not press this speculation further.

SECTION II.

THE TWO GENEALOGIES OF JESUS ARE NOT INCAPABLE OF RECONCILIATION WITH EACH OTHER, CONSISTENTLY WITH PROBABILITY AND HISTORICAL TRUTH.

THE great and difficult question now meets us. The two Evangelists, both professing to deduce the paternal descent of Christ from David, do it by series wholly distinct, which coincide only in two names lying together in the middle of both series, and in the name immediately preceding our Lord's at the close of both. From David to Salathiel, the father or reputed father of Zorobabel, the twenty intermediate names in St Luke's list have nothing in common with the fourteen in St Matthew: while the eighteen names interposed by the former between Zorobabel and Joseph, the reputed father of Jesus, differ as totally from the nine placed there by the latter. Of these two statements, it is said, both cannot possibly be true. Since a man can have but one father, one at least of the lists containing such contradictions must be false; and if only one, which is it?¹

To meet this charge of inconsistency and contradiction, it is requisite to divide the question; i. e. to consider separately the twofold line from David to Salathiel, and that from Zorobabel to Joseph. For the light that may be derived from the Old Testament for resolving the former question, taken by itself, may afterwards help to clear the greater obscurity of the latter. There is only one hypothesis on which any objection can lie against this division of the argument,—I mean that of Spanheim and Vossius, which makes the Salathiel and Zorobabel in St Luke's catalogue to be different persons² from those of the same

¹ Strauss, § 21. (Vol. I. p. 187, &c.)

² See F. Spanheim, *Dub. Evang.* Tom. I. pp. 113—116. G. J. Vossius, *De Gen. J. C.* cap. 3, art. 12, p. 27, and Gul. Surenhusii *Βιβλος καταλλαγῆς*, pp. 331—334. (The argument of the last-mentioned writer, that if the Evangelist had meant the great Zorobabel, he would have called him "the son of Pedaiah the son of

names in the list of St Matthew. This hypothesis, making the two series entirely divergent from David downwards, is certainly a very useful preliminary to the further position meditated by those learned men, viz. that they do not both terminate in Joseph: but, dismissing all ulterior considerations, its intrinsic improbability is sufficient to insure its condemnation. The occurrence at the same period of time—for it is in both lists somewhat more than half way³ from David to Christ—of a father and son with such singular and indeed unexampled names as Shealtiel שאלתיאל, and Zorobabel זרובבל, would be alone sufficient to make the chances exceedingly great against these names being meant of two different fathers and sons. But this improbability is greatly increased, when we consider who is the Zorobabel whom this hypothesis would require us to exclude from that one of the genealogies of our Lord after the flesh, which is most expressly put forth to declare the Messiahship of Jesus. He is the man whom all Jewish tradition and Christian faith unite in placing next after Abraham and David, in a most eventful era of Israel's history, as the most conspicuous representative of the Messiah; who, in the character of the Branch, applied by the prophets both to the type and antitype, should

Salathiel," "quoniam Lucas nullam generationem omisit," rests on a precarious assumption, even granting the doubtful position that Pedaiah was the son, rather than the brother, of Salathiel. For St Luke might well omit generations that the sacred writers of the time, Ezra and Haggai, omit (*vid. sup.* pp. 169, 170), though he does not omit of himself, like St Matthew; just as he calls Boaz the son of Salmon, herein agreeing with the books of Ruth and of Chronicles.) Chemnitz and others preceded in the same opinion, which is favoured also by Grotius, Mariana, and Tirinus. But the idea of a double Zorobabel does not originate with modern critics: for it is suggested, as a probable mode of explaining the double parentage, by St Augustine (*Quæst.* 46 in *Deut.*), by Walafrid Strabo in the *Glossa Ordinaria*, by Lyra, Tostatus, and others, who never thought of terminating the genealogies otherwise than in Joseph. On the other hand, the double Zorobabel is far from being generally admitted even by those (as Lightfoot, Broughton, Yardly, &c.) who think that St Luke is giving the genealogy of Mary.

³ Perceptibly more, viz. $\frac{15}{26}$, in St Matthew's list, but barely so, viz. $\frac{21}{41}$, in St Luke's: the difference being far too minute to make probable a difference of time on this ground, inasmuch as the abbreviations of the former genealogy are not necessarily distributed with exact equality between the several periods. But since they approximate to this according to the largeness of the period taken into account, it is obvious that this *proportional* method of estimating the place of the father and son in question is the only true one. To argue, as does Surenhusius (p. 385), for the diversity merely from the later side, viz. the ten generations from St Matthew's Zorobabel to Christ, as compared arithmetically with the nineteen from St Luke's, is to reason unfairly: for it is to suppress the fact of the known abbreviation of St Matthew prior to Salathiel, from which it were as legitimate to make out his Zorobabel earlier than the other, as it is now attempted by the same argument to prove him later.

restore the tabernacle of David that was fallen, and bring the captive exiles to their ancient rest, and lay the foundation of a second house whose glory should be greater than that of the first, because the Desire of all nations should issue from it. That this celebrated Zorobabel, son of Salathiel—the Zorobabel of Haggai, Zechariah, and Ezra—should be indeed meant by St Luke; but that the author of the book of Chronicles, as well as St Matthew, should be exhibiting the pedigree of a totally different person, one otherwise obscure and unknown, who, like his father Salathiel son of Jeconiah, is supposed to have been born in Babylon some years later than the other; and further, that the old Hebrew chronicler and genealogist should pass over, without mention of any kind, the eminent restorer of Israel, whom his words, and the words of the first Evangelist also, necessarily lead every Jewish and Christian reader to imagine they are commemorating and genealogizing,—is a notion which nothing but the necessity of making out a predetermined conclusion could suggest to any man of learning and judgment.

We proceed therefore to discuss these divergences separately, beginning with the earliest. St Luke calls Salathiel the son of Neri, and the descendant, through him and eighteen other names equally unrecorded in the ancient Scripture, of Nathan, who is known, from the books of Kings and of Chronicles, as the *third* of David's sons by "Bathsheba daughter of Ammiel⁴:" whereas St Matthew, as we have seen, makes Salathiel the son of Jeconiah, and through him the descendant of the well-known line of which he was the last royal representative, the regal line of Solomon, the *fourth* son of David by the same queen⁵. The difficulty here is not one as to the number of generations: for the twenty-one of St Luke from David to Salathiel are to be compared, not with the fifteen or sixteen generations enumerated more explicitly by St Matthew, but with the actual nineteen in the royal genealogy which he has abbreviated⁶: and these agree exceedingly well in respect of time. The sole question is, how are both lines of descent predicable of the same person? And here, singular as it may appear, the Old Testament alone will supply us with what will clear our difficulty. It will prove that

⁴ 2 Sam. v. 14; 1 Chron. iii. 5.

⁵ 1 Chron. iii. 5, 10—17.

⁶ *Vid. sup.* pp. 155—160.

Salathiel was not the natural offspring of Jeconiah, but adopted by him from another branch of the house of David.

The twenty-second chapter of Jeremiah closes with a strong denunciation, pronounced before the commencement of his reign, against this Jeconiah or Coniah son of Jehoiakim, that he should die *childless* in the land of his exile. The word there used עִירִי is proved by the passages of the Pentateuch in which it occurs⁷ to denote absolute destitution of offspring; and requires for its verification that Coniah should either have been always without children, or that such as he once possessed should have perished before him, without leaving any progeny themselves. So unquestionable is this, that the Rabbis, who believe the fact to have been otherwise, introduce the story of an adequate repentance of the captive king procuring a subsequent reversal of the doom of childlessness so distinctly pronounced against him. But granting freely the possibility of such averting of a divine judgment, it were notwithstanding most rash and irreverent to believe the non-accomplishment in this instance of a declaration so emphatic, when the inspired records of the captivity give no hint of any such exemplary repentance: nor is there even satisfactory evidence of any tradition lying at the basis of the statement, but only a presumed hermeneutical necessity for 1 Chron. iii. 17⁸. But as the supposition of the denunciation taking full effect is not only more agreeable to what might be expected from the divine prediction, but, under the circumstances of the miserable bounden king, more accordant with the apparent facts of the case than its opposite, let us consider what would be the consequence of this to the unfortunate captive himself, when in his old age, after a bondage of thirty-seven years, some dignity

⁷ Gen. xv. 2; Lev. xx. 20, 21. So Gesenius, &c.

⁸ The persuasion, founded on this text, that Salathiel was actually begotten by Jeconiah in his captivity, is evidently the basis of this notion, the Jewish authorities for which may be seen in Lightfoot on *Matt.* i. 12. The same persuasion has led the Christian commentators that held it, who would shrink from this presumption of an unrecorded reversal of divine judgment, to have recourse to the lower senses of the word עִירִי, which the ancient Greek interpreters, under the same pressure, have given to the passage in Jeremiah; Aquila giving ἀναῖξτρον, Symmachus κενόν, Theodotion and the LXX. ἐκκήρυκτρον (instead of the proper ἀρεκτρον, which they had used in the two places of Moses). So St Jerome among the ancients, and Vossius among the moderns. It is in vain that the latter seeks to maintain the lighter meanings from the import of the root ערר, when the meaning of the word is thus fixed, as Lightfoot has shown both by the Mosaic and the Misnic use, to denote absolute childlessness; as Jonathan here renders it by ולא ולר, and the Syriac translator by ܕܠܐ ܠܪܝܐ.

and freedom of action was allowed him by favour of the son of his conqueror⁹. In the near prospect of the extinction in his person of a royal line to which unfailing perpetuity had been promised, and which continued, even in this desolation, to form the constant hope of each faithful Israelite, would not he be led to supply, by adoption from the nearest collateral branch he could find, the continuance of a succession so momentous? What then was the condition of his kindred at that time? The total destruction of the family of his yet more wretched uncle and successor¹⁰, by the enraged conqueror with whom he had broken faith, on the last capture and destruction of Jerusalem, left no scion of the house of the good king Josiah remaining¹¹; and as to the descendants of the preceding kings, who had been before taken to captivity, of whom were Daniel and his three companions, these fulfilled the doom pronounced long before to Hezekiah, of being eunuchs in the palace of the king of Babylon, and thus incapacitated for succession¹². We read indeed of some not carried away, of Ishmael son of Nethaniah and ten other princes of the royal blood, who, after the destruction of the city, instigated by envy against the Jew of inferior birth whom the king of Babylon had left as ruler over the remnant in Judea, assassinated their unsuspecting countryman, and thus extinguished the last remains of pity in the Chaldean conqueror. This enormity, which the Jews yet deplore by an annual fast in memory of the murdered Gedaliah, and of the miseries thus accumulated on their captivity, would of itself set aside those homicides from the character of adopted successors, even if they had escaped the doom which fell upon others far less guilty than themselves, as a penalty divinely pronounced for refusing submission to Babylon¹³. What then, if beside these eleven reprobrates and the eunuchs, there were no lineal representative remaining of the kings, from Amon father of Josiah upward to Joash? For as to the princes of the house of Ahaziah next pre-

⁹ Evilmerodach, the Ilurodamus of the Ptolemaic Canon, whose short reign (though of three years only by the Canon, or according to Berosus but two, till deposed by his sister's husband Niricassolassar, the Nergalshareser of Jer. xxxix. 3, who was the father of Laborosoarchod or Belshassar) seems to have included all the remnant of the days of the captive Jeconiah. See 2 Kings xxv. 27—30; Jer. lii. 31—34. (Cf. Joseph. *contra Apion*. lib. i. cap. 20.)

¹⁰ 2 Kings xxv. 6, 7; Jer. xxxix. 6, 7.

¹¹ 2 Kings xxv. 7; Jer. xxxix. 7.

¹² Compare Isaiah xxxix. 6, 7; and Dan. i. 1—7.

¹³ See Jer. xli. 1 seq.; also xlii. 9—22, &c. : 2 Kings xxv. 23—26.

ceding, the swords of Jehu and of Athaliah severally had extirpated them root and branch¹⁴, the one heir Joash being alone saved; as the Oriental jealousy of Joram, (thus signally visited on his own house by the very daughter of Jezebel whom he had espoused,) had before removed out of the way the large princely progenies of his father and his third and fourth ancestor¹⁵. Nothing was left, if the race of Solomon were thus extinct, but to provide for the conservation of David's house in that line which was nearest of kin to Solomon's, that of his elder brother by the same mother. Here, if any branch remained in the captivity, the heir to the deserted throne and lost royalties of David must be sought and found.

This then is a solution, equally complete and well-attested in its probable details, of the perplexing discrepancy before us. And if we further suppose, what is most accordant with the care imposed on him, that Jeconiah adopted for his own all the seven sons of *Neri*, who was the twentieth from David in the older line of Nathan, and yet not younger than himself, who was the eighteenth in the later line (so that the sons enumerated as his in 1 Chron. iii. 17, 18¹⁶, or at least the three eldest of them, Salathiel, Malchiram, and Pedaiah, may have been

¹⁴ 2 Kings x. 13, 14; and xi. 1—3.

¹⁵ 2 Chron. xxi. 1—4 and 7, coll. xi. 18—21, xiii. 21, &c.

¹⁶ This argument will not be materially affected, if, amidst the different modes of understanding this verse of which we have before spoken, p. 170, we suppose with the LXX. and Vulgate another brother, Assir, older than the above three; but it would be marred by inserting him as an intermediate generation. It is a wonderful speculation of Hug (*Introduction to the N. T.* Vol. II. pp. 267—272, Eng. Ed.), that in the first half of the name *Malchiram* we may discern *Melchi* the father of *Neri* and grandfather of *Salathiel* in St Luke's genealogy, and in the latter half the verb מָלַךְ, denoting that the said *Melchi* (ἐβαλε, h.e. ἐπέβαλε) took to him, or added to his house as grandchildren, *Pedaiah*, *Shenazar*, &c.; a notion of which the philology and the sense are equally inadmissible. It is but justice to the learned Professor to state that he has explicitly retracted this speculation; but the same ingenious review of Strauss which contains the retractation starts other positions no less strange, viz. that *Neri* begat of *Jeconiah's* widow *Assir* the father of *Salathiel* the father of *Pedaiah* the father of *Zorobabel* (adding thus two generations omitted by both Evangelists, and making the leadership of *Zorobabel* a total* impossibility): also that to equalize St Matthew's numbers to St Luke's, we are to add *Neri* as omitted by the former (equally with the three kings after *Joram*!), and not only *Neri*, but *Jeconiah's* uncle and successor *Sedeekiah*, with his son, as if they were all in the same line of descent: and further, that *Nathan's* son *Mattatha* was not naturally his, but begotten of his widow for him by *Solomon's* brother: whence presumed, or wherefore, it were hard to tell. (*Zeitschrift für Theologie*, I. pp. 25—28. Friburg, 1839.)

* A child *Assir*, begotten after *Jeconiah's* death, could not possibly be more than 42 years old, hardly so much, at the time of Cyrus' edict. And where then was his great grandson *Zorobabel*, who should lead the Jews back? It is marvellous that this impossibility should escape Hug: who contends, with us, against the hypothesis of two *Zorobabels*, as well as for both genealogies uniting in *Joseph*.

born either before the captivity, or early in it); a son born to any one of these in Babylon might well be old enough, at the time of Cyrus' edict, to lead back to their ancient residence a people, some few of whom remembered the old temple yet standing¹⁷. Such consequently might be the case with Zorobabel; who is ever styled in both Testaments the son of Salathiel, though, as we learn from 1 Chron. iii. 19, the actual son of Pedaiah. Thus then is the chronological reason removed for compelling us to imagine that the principality in Judea, which should have rightly and regularly descended to an actual Salathiel son of Jeconiah, and his adopted son Zorobabel, had been transferred, through God's secret influence on the hearts of the people at large, to another Salathiel and another Zorobabel his

¹⁷ See Ezra iii. 2—13. The somewhat similar appeal of Haggai ii. 2, 3, refers to a time very long subsequent to this, that of Ezra v, when, after a cessation of several reigns from the work they had begun, Zorobabel and Joshua are excited by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah to anticipate the returning favour of the Persians, and commence anew their restitution of God's house. At that second period all who remembered the first temple were most certainly dead, and the appeal of the Prophet must be to a traditional recollection only. But not so on the first occasion of Ezra iii. 12, when there were certainly many such old men present; and when their leader, however young at the time, cannot be conceived to be removed by more than two generations from Jeconiah, who 62 years before had been taken captive at the age of eighteen (11 years before the temple and city were destroyed).

It is true that the extreme age of Zorobabel at the second of the periods here mentioned, the recommencement of his work "in the second year of Darius," has been a source of perplexity to chronologists. But other reasons beside his former leadership in the reign of Cyrus, forbid us to seek relief from that perplexity by either multiplying generations between him and Jeconiah, or even by assigning the last events, as Petau and others of great name have done, to the reign of Darius I. son of Hystaspes. These reasons are: 1. The specification of the interval between the two periods in Ezra's intermediate chapter, as extending through the reigns of Xerxes and Artaxerxes I. to that of Darius II. (Nothus): 2. The circumstance that in the next ascent from Babylon, that of Ezra himself, not long after the death of Zorobabel, the chief of David's house was one removed from him by at least *six* generations, as before remarked in note 57, p. 177; thus proving the extraordinary longevity which his progenitor must have attained, and the impossibility of the descendant's ascent from Babylon being earlier than the reign next to that of Darius Nothus, viz. that of Artaxerxes II.: 3. The further circumstance, that in the next ascent from Babylon after that of Ezra, and in the same reign, the principal opponent of Nehemiah in his work of rebuilding Jerusalem was a man who can be demonstrated to have continued an active chief of the Samaritans till the time of Alexander the Great, and to have then founded the rival temple on mount Gerizim. (Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. c. 8, § 2, 3, 4.) To assign his former opposition to the early reign of Artaxerxes I., were to attribute to *Sanballat* a greater longevity than that which the actual testimony of Ezra v. gives to *Zorobabel*.

If to these arguments I do not add a fourth, viz. that the seventy hebdomads of Daniel ix., which end in the destruction of Jerusalem, A.D. 71, cannot be begun otherwise than by an edict in the second year of Darius *Nothus* (as the second year of the *elder* Darius is separated by a much larger interval than 490 years, even from the crucifixion, and from the birth, of our Lord), it is not from any doubt of its truth and cogency, but from regard to the general principle, that history should interpret prophecy, and not be determined by it.

son,—persons of whom no descendants whatever are recorded, while the line of their deposed and superseded namesakes is pursued to the tenth generation, with an abundance of collateral branches throughout, in the first book of Chronicles,—and to read, in a conjuncture of circumstances so strange and even contradictory as this, the divine accomplishment of a prophecy that Jeconiah should die *childless*¹⁸!

There is indeed another argument urged by the advocates of this hypothesis, viz. that on this supposition of a union of the two lines in the person of Salathiel, there is no conceivable reason why the Nathanic genealogy should have been preserved¹⁹: but this is easily answered. The honour accruing to the line of Nathan from having furnished the Branch in which the tree of David should grow and flourish after the decay of its first kingly stem in Babylon, is not one which would be suffered to perish from remembrance: nor would the records of David's line at Bethlehem fail to exhibit this descent of Zorobabel, and consequently of all sprung from him, through Neri and Nathan, from David; though his succession to the royalty of David, as grandson (by adoption) of Jeconiah, would form the subject of the more public record at Jerusalem. Nor is it wonderful that the former line, with other specifications of interesting descent, of which we hear elsewhere in Scripture, should not have found its place among those collected in the first book of Chronicles (which contains but the line of his adoption, and is naturally followed by that Gospel of the Hierosolymite Christians, which traces in that line the Messianic royalty of Jesus): or that its more express consignation in Scripture should not

¹⁸ F. Spanheim, *Dub. Evang.* Tom. I. p. 111. G. J. Vossius, *De Gen. Christi*, cap. 2, art. 11, 12 (pp. 27, 28).

¹⁹ Spanheim, *Dub. Ev.* Tom. I. pp. 108, 109. The answer to this consideration both from probability, and from fact (as indicated in the mention of Nathan's house by the prophet Zechariah), is also an answer to Strauss when pressing the same argument of the unimportance of that line against the historical truth of St Luke's genealogy. "Indess lässt sich hier ebenso umgekehrt unwahrscheinlicher finden, dass von der minder bedeutenden Nathanischen, als dass von der königlichen Linie ein Stammbaum vorhanden gewesen sei."... And again, "Es sehr wenig Wahrscheinlichkeit hat, dass nach den Zerrüttungen des Exils und der folgenden Zeiten in der obskuren Familie des Joseph noch so weit hinaufreichende Genealogien vorhanden gewesen." Vol. I. p. 178. Now as far as this is argued from the disturbances of the captivity, it is well answered by Hug; who shews from the muster-rolls of Zorobabel, given in Ezra ii. 2—65 and Nehemiah vii. 6—67, that the registers of families had been carefully preserved during that desolation, and were made the foundation of their precedence in the work of restoration even in the later period of Nehemiah iii. 2 seq.

have taken place till, with the events of Christ's nativity at Bethlehem, and other records of his family, it was exhibited by his disciple St Luke to the world; exhibited while the Jewish State yet subsisted, before the great dispersion; many, both then and since, being certainly cognizant whether such documents existed or not. But neither were the known published monuments of the nation wholly silent, till this later time, respecting this distinguished prerogative of Nathan's line. In the earliest writings after the captivity, during the life of Zorobabel himself, we find the house of Nathan commemorated separately from the house of David, i.e. from all other branches of that house²⁰; in the same manner as in other parts of Scripture, (e.g. in Ps. cxxxv. 19, 20,) the house of Aaron is mentioned as distinct from the house of Levi, i.e. from all the inferior families of that tribe. And this distinction of the house of Nathan, such as would naturally follow from its becoming the source of the restored principality of that period, and possessing

²⁰ Zech. xii. 12, 13: "The land shall mourn, every family apart; *the family of the house of David apart, and their wives apart; the family of the house of Nathan apart, and their wives apart*; the family of the house of Levi apart, and their wives apart; the family of Shimei apart, and their wives apart." Here though some, with St Jerome, understand by the house of Nathan the descendants of *Nathan the Prophet*, and take the four classes to denote the race of Princes and Prophets and Priests and Doctors respectively; many others both of Jews and of Christians understand, as more probable, *Nathan the son of David*. (See Blayney and Newcome *in loc.* R. Solomon Jarchi, having mentioned both interpretations, adds to the last, as an approved opinion, that the family of Shimei was another special branch of the house of David; viz. that of Shammua, eldest brother of Nathan and Solomon. But is there not another branch, more obvious, and better answering the Prophet's words? Shimei (שִׁמְעִי), so called also by St Luke (iii. 26), though the book of Chronicles adds an ה to the name, was in fact the chief representative of the house of David at the close of Zechariah's age, and was succeeded by Hattush his eldest son in Ezra's day (p. 177, *sup.*). Thus there would be a climax proceeding from the house of David universally to the then leading branch of that house, the Nathanic, and thence to its last youthful head Shimei. The omission of the word בֵּית, *house*, before Shimei alone in this enumeration, is in favour of this idea. But the interposed mention of the house of Levi is against it; and suggests rather, by analogy, some eminent order of Levitical teachers to follow.

However it may be with Levi and Shimei, if the house of Nathan the son of David is here put in contradistinction to the house of David generally, the only sound interpretation is that given above. To suppose, as some have done, that by the house of David is meant *specialty* the royal house of Solomon, conceived to be represented by Zorobabel, as distinguished from the more private house of Nathan, Solomon's brother, is to violate the analogy of every case where the particular and the general are placed in opposition. When the men of Kent are distinguished from the men of England, or King's College from the University of Cambridge, we at once respectively understand by the latter *all the rest* of England beside Kent, and *all* the other Colleges beside King's in the University—from which that county or that college must have some kind of special distinction. To say that the general term in either case denoted only the Londoners as distinguished from one of the provinces, or Trinity College alone as distinguished from one of the small ones, would be felt as most incongruous.

in Zorobabel and his descendants the ancestry of the expected Christ, is continued and explained in the tradition of later times. The celebrated Rabbi Simeon ben Jochai, author of the Cabbalistic commentary on the Pentateuch, entitled *Zohar*, represents Nathan the son of David as the father, and Nathan's wife as the mother, of the *Messiah the Comforter, the son of Ammiel*²¹ (Ammiel being the name assigned in 1 Chron. iii. 5 to the maternal grandfather of both Nathan and Solomon). The value of this testimony to the Messiah's origin from the line of Nathan,—a fact which since the rise of Christianity the Jewish Doctors have generally suppressed,—is not destroyed, though it may be impaired, by the absurdity of its accompaniments²²: viz. that the same wife of Nathan and mother of

²¹ This title and patronymic designation of the Christ, as foretold by Isaiah and David, is not confined to the *Zohar*. There is a passage quoted in Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum* (Königsberg, 1711), Part II. ch. iii. p. 709, from a Rabbinical treatise called *Athoth Hammashiach*, or Signs of the Messiah, in which, after describing the horrible acts at the end of the world of the giant Armillus, the son of the Stone, before whom the world should tremble, it is said: **יבא לפניו מנחם בן עמיאל מן נחל השטים ויפח באפיו וימיתוהו כמו שנאמר וברוח שפתיו** “There shall come before him **MENACHEM** (or the Comforter) **THE SON OF AMMIEL**, from the river of Shittim, and he shall blow with his nostrils and kill him, as it is written: *And with the breath of his lips he shall slay the wicked one.* (Is. xi. 4.) And then shall the kingdom be the **LORD'S**.” This would sufficiently identify the *Menahem son of Ammiel*, spoken of in the *Zohar*, with “the rod of the stem of Jesse” in Isaiah, even if this same act of the destruction of Armillus were not ascribed elsewhere in the Jewish writings to the Messiah the son of David, who should thus avenge on that enemy the death of the other imaginary Messiah, the son of Ephraim. This name of **מנחם**, the Comforter, ascribed to the conquering Messiah, is remarked by these writers as having the same numerical value (138) with **צמח**, the Branch, under which name Christ was announced by the prophets Jeremiah and Zechariah; and to this is referred the verse, Lam. i. 16, “**THE COMFORTER that shall relieve (or restore) my soul is far from me.**” (Vid. Cellarii *Institutio Rabbinismi*, pp. 67, 68; ap. Reland, *Analecta Rabbinica*, Traj. Rhen. 1723.) The Gemara tells other wonderful things of the Christ as expected under this same name from Bethlehem (though as the son of Hezekiah, and consequently of Solomon's line. Vid. Cellar. pp. 62, 69, 70: also the reference to it by Lightfoot, on *Matt.* ii. 1, &c.).

²² This remarkable passage of the *Zohar* on Num. xv., which was first noticed by Schoettgen (*Horæ Hebr.* in Luc. iii. 31) stands thus in the original Chaldaic (Vol. III. fol. 82, ed. Lublin.): **תו פתח ואמר על הר נבוה עליו לך מבשרת** **ציון וגו' על הר נבוה האי ודאי הר העברים אתר דמשה אתקבר והא** **אוקמות דשכינת' תסלק לתמן ותבשר עלמא אבל בלא איהו מבשרת** **ציון דא איהו חפציבה אתתא דנתן בר דוד אימא איהי דמשיחא מנחם** **בר עמיאל ואיהי תפוק ותבשר ואיהי בכללא דמבשרא ציון קלא ישתמע** **בעלמא ותרינ מלכין יתערון בעלמא לאנחא קרבא ויפוק שמא קדישא על** **עלמא מה תבשר ותימא הנה יי אלהים בחוק יבא וורועו מושלה לו הנה** **שכרו אתו ופעולתו לפניו.** “Again the Prophet saith: *Get thee up into the high*

Christ is she who is announced in Isai. xl. 9, as the bearer of glad tidings to Sion (מְבַשֶּׁרֶת צִיּוֹן): who will for this purpose ascend "the high mountain," to wit, the mountain in which Moses lies buried, and proclaim the coming Presence of God which shall thence pervade the world.

It is urged against the preceding solution that, when St Matthew uses the strongest term, ἐγέννησε, by which natural procreation can be denoted, and St Luke in tracing the descent uses the phrase ὡς ἐνομιζέτο, it is reversing the truth of these expressions to find the purely natural descent in the latter, and the mere legal imputation of it in the former²³. But in the Hebrew style the term יָלַד, ἐγέννησε, may be possibly used of an adoptative or merely legal parentage: while, on the other hand, the qualifying phrase in the third Evangelist refers to the merely legal parentage of *Joseph*, with respect to whom alone the idea of true and proper paternity is meant to be excluded by the term. For the rest, the descent by Nathan does not cease to be a legal descent, because there was another legal one by which Salathiel and his progeny were adopted by Jeconiah into the royal line of Solomon: for the Old Testament supplies instances²⁴, of which Zorobabel himself is one, and Salma the first lord of Bethlehem in the same genealogy is perhaps another, where the son may be legally set down both to the natural

mountain, thou that tellest glad tidings to Sion, &c. (Is. xl. 9.) The high mountain here meant is certainly Mount Abarim, where Moses was buried: for the established doctrine is, that the Inhabiting Presence shall thither ascend and proclaim glad tidings to the world. And with respect to the objection (from the words of the text), SHE THAT BRINGETH GLAD TIDINGS TO SION IS HEPHSIBAH THE WIFE OF NATHAN THE SON OF DAVID, THE MOTHER OF THE MESSIAH MENAHEM (the Anointed Comforter) THE SON OF AMMIEL: she shall go forth and proclaim glad tidings; for she is (specially) included in the general phrase of evangelizer of Sion: and in the world shall her voice be heard: and two kings in the world shall be stirred up to wage war: and then shall the Holy Name go forth over the world. What then shall she proclaim and affirm? *Behold the LORD God will come with strong hand, and his arm shall rule for him: behold, his reward is with him, and his work before him.*" (Is. xl. 10.)

²³ Strauss, Vol. I. p. 174. The expression "Joram begat Ozias," of which we have already spoken at such length (p. 154, *sup.*), sufficiently proves that ἐγέννησε may be used otherwise than in the strict sense: and, as Abp. De Marca observes (*Opuscula*, p. 8, Paris, 1681), the word, as applied to the adoptative succession of kings, is without an elegance which relieves the harshness of the expression as applied to individuals: for which he adduces the practice of profane Roman writers calling the day of succession to the empire the *dies natalis*, and also Ps. ii. 6, 7; where the day of inauguration of king David, the typical Christ, is termed the day of his progeniture. (The latter reason is good, though we have there a higher mystic import in the resurrection of Christ, declared to be the Son of God with power, by being the first-begotten from the dead.) See also Grot. in *Luc.* iii. 23.

²⁴ *Vid. sup.* pp. 169, 170, and also pp. 163—165.

and the adopting parent: while even in the case of the law which obliged the brother of the childless deceased to marry his widow, that his name might not be lost from Israel, we have an instance in the book of Ruth of a marriage contracted with that express view²⁵, and yet the progeny (Obed) being set down to Boaz the natural parent, though it might have been to the deceased Mahlon. In the present signal instance, where both are severally recorded, it is to be observed that the promise of perpetuity was made to the house of David, who is eminently the father of the Christ, not to the particular branch of that house which immediately inherited the throne; and that in the four places where the promise is particularly conveyed²⁶ (however in them, as in the 72d Psalm, the peaceful reign of Solomon is made a type of the future eternal kingdom, yet) the distinction is even carefully drawn in all between the conditionality of the promise to the immediate son and his successors, which their iniquity might suspend or forfeit, and the absolute security of

²⁵ Compare Deut. xxv. 5—9 with Ruth iii. 12, 13; iv. 13—16, particularly Boaz's address to the elders of Bethlehem, "*Ruth the Moabitess, the wife of Mahlon, have I purchased to be my wife, to raise up the name of the dead upon his inheritance, that the name of the dead be not cut off from among his brethren* and from the gate of this place: ye are witnesses this day." To this subject we shall have occasion to revert hereafter: but our present argument, comparing this with the actual sacred genealogy of Ruth iv. 21, and ever elsewhere, cannot be better stated than in the words of St Augustine, thus commenting on the words of Moses: "*Quod enim additum est, Et non delebitur nomen ejus ex Israel, potest ita intelligi, non quod nomen ejus puer consequenter accipiat, sed quod ille non sine posteritate mortuus esse videbitur, et ideo permanet ejus nomen, hoc est memoria. Neque enim, etiam si ipse filium genuisset, nomen suum ei fuerat impositurus, ut nomen ejus non deleberetur ex Israel; sed ex hoc utique non deleberetur, quia non sine liberis ex hac vita emigraret; et hoc jubetur ex ejus uxore frater ejus implere, quod ille non potuit. Nam etsi frater non fuisset, et propinquus ducebat uxorem ejus, qui sine filiis mortuus esset, ad suscitandum semen fratri suo; sicut fecit Booz ducendo Ruth, ut semen excitaret propinquo suo, cujus fuerat illa uxor, nec de illo pepererat; et tamen qui de illa natus est, ex nomine quidem defuncti constitutus est, quia filius ejus est dictus, atque ita factum est ut nomen defuncti non deleberetur ex Israel, nec tamen ejus nomine appellatus est. Quæ cum ita sint, abundantius duobus modis solvi potest Evangelica quæstio, ut unus eorum quos diversos commemorat Matthæus et Lucas, ita fuerit propinquus alteri, ad ducendam ejus uxorem, ut alios etiam sursum versus parentes atque majores iste, alios ille, habere potuerit. Nam si fratrum filii fuissent, unum habuissent avum; quod non ita est: nam secundum Matthæum Mathan est avus Joseph; secundum Lucam vero, non Mathan sed Mathath. Quod si quisquam putat esse tantam similitudinem nominis, ut ab scriptoribus in una litera erratum sit, ut fieret tam parva et pene nulla diversitas, quid de istorum patribus dicendum est? Nam secundum Lucam, Mathath filius fuit Levi: secundum Matthæum autem, Mathan ex Eleazar genitus invenitur: atque ita inde sursum versus diversi sunt patres et avi: et deinde majores usque ad Zorobabel, &c. &c." (*Quæst. 46 in Deuteronom. Opp. Tom. III. p. 573, ed. Benedict.*)*

²⁶ 2 Sam. vii. 8—16; 1 Chron. xvii. 7—15; Ps. lxxxix. and cxxxii. Compare particularly the clauses 30—32 and 33—37 in the former Psalm, answering to corresponding clauses in each of the two historical books. [See also 2 Chron. vi. 16.]

the ultimate promise to David. In fact, the impieties of which Solomon himself set the first example, and of which Ahaz and Manasseh were the most flagrant instances, prevailed over the goodness of Hezekiah and others to make void the conditional promise: and when the last kings had filled up the measure of their iniquity, the villainy of Ishmael comes as the crowning mark of the reprobation of that "seed royal," and the transfer of its principality to another Branch, that of Nathan: in which, though no proper royalty is renewed like that of David, and though those who succeeded as chiefs of the people in that dependent epoch, gave place, in the troubles that followed, to the sacerdotal line of the Maccabees, and afterwards to Herod, still was a glimpse afforded, according to the prophetic method, of the eternal royalty which all Israel yet expected to spring thence, which was to triumph over all apostasies, and give peace to Israel and to the world²⁷.

Such then being the explanation of the former divergency between David and Salathiel, which we are assisted in verifying by the records of the ancient dispensation, we may now proceed to the latter one, nearer to our great subject, in which we are without that aid; precluded as it is here by the failure of the

²⁷ The writings of the two great prophets of the captivity especially are full of intimations to this effect. See Jer. xxii. xxiii. &c.; Ezek. xxxvii. &c.; but above all, perhaps, the divine address in the latter prophet to Sedekiah, the last earthly tenant of the throne of David and Solomon (Ezek. xxi. 25—27), as one whose day of just retribution was come, whose throne should be overturned and "be no more,

UNTIL HE COME WHOSE RIGHT IT IS (עַד-בֹּאֵה אִשְׁרָלוֹ הַמִּשְׁפָּט), and I will give it Him." That such is the right of the Messiah, the son of David, announced here in the very terms of the patriarch Jacob (as they were understood by the oldest interpreters), viz. as the rightful owner* of the Sceptre over Israel and the Gentiles, in the original benediction of Judah, Gen. xlix. 10, was as constantly the faith of the expecting Jews, as from the tenour of the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin it has constituted the faith of Christians. It is clear that Ezekiel's prediction was in no true sense *fulfilled* in Zorobabel, however he might be a type and earnest of its fulfilment. It is equally clear, by the confession of the unbelieving Jews themselves, that the title of the Branch in Zechariah's prophecy was only representatively his; its accomplishment being reserved for that root of Jesse (the true צֶמַח and נָצַר) to whose standard the Gentiles should seek.

חֶמֶן • עַד בִּרְבֹּאֵה שְׁלָה, ὥς ἂν ἔλθῃ ᾧ ἀπόκειται (LXX. ap. Just. M. &c. &c.)
 (Saadias.) ἃ ἡ ἀνιψὲς τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ (Syr.) בְּנֵי־לֵן מִן זְבֻלָּה.
 עַד דִּי־יָתִי מִשְׁחָא דְדִלְיָה הִיא מְלֻכּוּתָא is the Chaldee paraphrase of the yet more ancient Onkelos: "Until Messiah come, whose is the Kingdom (or Sceptre)." Of the truth of this reading and interpretation of שְׁלָה as synonymous with אִשְׁרָלוֹ, and the identity of import in the clauses of Jacob and Ezekiel (as well as the irrelevancy of the Ephraimitic name of Shiloh here), see Durell *On the Parallel Prophecies of Jacob and Moses* (Oxford, 1763), pp. 61—66; also Jahn, *Appendix Hermeneutica* (Viennæ, 1816), pp. 174—187.

Davidic royalty, the consequent privacy of its hereditary representatives, the absence of the inspired record from Israel, and the loss of the previously existing genealogies²⁸ at the great dispersion. St Luke speaks of Joseph, the legal or reputed father of our Lord, as the son of *Heli* the son of *Matthat* (or, as many old MSS. and versions read, of *Matthan*) the son of *Levi* the son of *Melchi*, who is the fourteenth in descent from *Rhesa* the son of *Zorobabel*; the ascent proceeding through a series of names in which we may observe some coincidences with the line of *Zorobabel's* descendants for ten generations through the second son, as given in the first book of *Chronicles*, but not sufficiently determinate and unambiguous to enable us positively to affirm their identity²⁹. St Matthew, on the other hand, calls the father of Joseph *Jacob* the son of *Matthan* the son of *Eleazar*, who in his third tessarodecad is removed by only six generations from *Abiud* the son of *Zorobabel*: his list containing (except for the name of Joseph's grandfather) no one in the least agreeing with those of St Luke, or which can be pronounced identical with the names of *Zorobabel's* descendants in the *Chronicles*³⁰. Now whether this latter genealogy, evidently cut short of about half its actual number, belongs to the family of *Meshullam* the first-born of *Zorobabel* (from whom, however, the inherited right of primogeniture appears to have passed subsequently to the descendants of his next brother³¹ *Hananiah*), or to some one of the

²⁸ Flavius Josephus could say of his own priestly genealogy, *τὴν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν διαδοχὴν, ὡς ἐν ταῖς δημοσίαις δέλτοις ἀναγεγραμμένην εὖρον, οὕτως παρατίθεμαι.* (Joseph. *Vit.* § 1.) From certain minute rules of enquiry, prescribed in the Misnic Tract *קידושין*, on Espousals, respecting the ancestry of such as sought alliance with the sacerdotal families, some are represented as exempt by virtue of their well known nobility; viz. those whose fathers were public judges or notaries (*שוטרין*), or collectors of alms; also, according to one Rabbi, those who had attestations of good birth from the council of a certain town, *Jeshana* near *Sephoris* (or *Dio-cæsarea*) in *Galilee*; also, according to another, those who had been enrolled in the royal army *באסטרטא של מלך*. (*Mishna*, ed. Surenhus. Tom. III. p. 380.) This professedly relates to the state of affairs between the time of *Ezra* and the last destruction of the temple: but the notoriety which existed in so many cases would not immediately perish in the centuries next following that event, during which this statute was committed to writing.

²⁹ *Vid. sup.* p. 177.

³⁰ It has occurred to some to identify *Azor*, the third mentioned after *Zorobabel* in this abridged genealogy, with *Azrikom*, the youngest of the three sons of *Neariah* the son of *Shemaiah* (or *Shimei*) in 1 Chron. iii. 23; and *Abiud*, the first mentioned after *Zorobabel*, with *Obadiah* the grandfather of *Shemaiah*. If this hypothesis, which is altogether precarious and needing support, were admitted, we might conceive St Matthew's 'Αβιούδ יהור' אב and St Luke's 'Ιούδα יהורה' to be identical, and the two lines to divide from the *Mattathias* of the latter, till united again either in *Matthan* or in *Joseph*.

³¹ This appears from the pursuance of *Hananiah's* line, in 1 Chron. iii., at least

five sons that follow the daughter Shelomith in the Old Testament enumeration, it is not difficult to conceive the compatibility of the two accounts, after what we have seen of the Jewish practice in the former instance. A failure of issue in the most honoured of these branches of the house of Zorobabel might be supplied by adoption from the other: or (if the case of Jeconiah is not applicable here) it might be that, agreeably to the provision of the *levirate* law (Deut. xxv.), the widow of the deceased childless person was espoused to a member of the other house, if only some near connexion by the mother's side might bring such a one within the obligations of that statute, to raise up seed to his brother of David's lineage: and the offspring, in either case, might be severally reckoned to the branch which bore it and to that into which it was ingrafted.

What then prevents our applying to this difficulty a solution so generally deemed satisfactory for the former one? One consideration only is opposed to it: viz. the supposed necessity that one at least of the Evangelists must directly exhibit the

to the eighth generation, whereas no son of Meshullam is recorded; and from the prince of David's house in Ezra's time being also of the line of Hananiah; though he (Hattush), like Meshullam, left that dignity to his brother's descendants, not his own.

The ordinary Jewish tradition, as conveyed in the Chronicle called *Seder Olam Zuta*, states that Meshullam succeeded his father Zorobabel upon his return to Babylon to die there (a point on which the Rabbins are singularly unanimous); and that he was succeeded on his death, which is ignorantly referred to the age of Alexander, by Hananiah, who is also made his son instead of his brother. This Hananiah, "whom wise men directed," while "*Potran, Salmon, Alascarus, and Mapporis* were kings of the Greeks" (!), was succeeded by his son Berachia, similarly directed in the reign of the Seleucidæ, in the time of whose son and successor, Hasadiah, the Maccabean insurrection took place: who is again succeeded by Jeshaiah, still "directed by the wise," in the time of Alexander Jannæus: his son and successor, Obadiah, is similarly succeeded by Shemaiah, directed as before; and he by Shecaniah, till the destruction of the second temple by Titus. (*Seder Olam*, pp. 109—111, ed. Meyer, Amst. 1699.) I need not say that all this, as history, is thoroughly worthless; even the genealogical succession being an apparently wanton inversion of that in the Paralipomena. But the tradition is not without its use in one respect, as showing the tenacity with which the Jews clung to the idea of a succession of princes of David's line, even when the Asmonæan and Herodian dynasties were in power; and ascribed to these legitimate representatives of David the attributes of sovereign rule, with the aid of the council of the Sanhedrim, of which all history declares them destitute.

As for the story mentioned by Lucas Brugensis and others on Luke iii. 24, that the Janna of that genealogy was the last prince of the house of Jeconiah, and yet identical with the Asmonæan Hyrcanus of Josephus (*Antiq.* XII. cc. 4, 5), and that Antiochus Epiphanes, by confiscating his property, caused the poverty of Christ's immediate ancestors,—it rests, not on the authority of Josephus, who has nothing of the kind in his narration of the acts of that tyrant, but on the Pseudo-Philo of that most impudent forger Annius of Viterbo; who also makes these ancestors of Christ rulers of the Israelites, each with an appropriate title: as stated by Erasmus *in loc.*

descent of our Lord's only earthly parent, the Blessed Virgin Mary. Now, however apparently reasonable this expectation may be, which, upon the Straussian principle in the line of argument we are now combating, must necessarily, as a predominant idea, have produced genealogies accordant with it, it ought, on the principles of those who are not pantheists, but investigators of the ways of One whose thoughts are infinitely higher and deeper than our own, to yield to the actual phenomena of the revelation. Such severe attention to the matter of fact alone in the first instance is recognized as true philosophy in searching out the laws of nature; where the consideration of final causes is deemed by Bacon infructuous in conclusions, however wise and pious and useful, when the fact is otherwise ascertained. It were well if this true principle of modern philosophy were carried into the investigation of revealed truth more generally than it has been during the period of its rule over physical enquiries, or if the ages usually taxed with blind ignorance of this principle were imitated in the care and reverence with which they have observed it in this instance. For surely if we look simply to the terms of both genealogies with a view of ascertaining how far our natural expectation is there satisfied, it is scarcely possible to imagine any language more explicit and unambiguous than what in both places meets us: either that of St Matthew, who says, *Μαθὰν δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰακώβ· Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰωσήφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς ἐγεννήθη Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός*: or that again of St Luke, who speaks of Jesus as being, but in general repute or legal estimation only, *ὡς ἐνομίζετο, υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ, τοῦ Ἠλὶ τοῦ Ματθαὶ τοῦ Λευὶ τοῦ Μελχὶ κ.τ.λ.* Submitted to the rules of ordinary criticism, no language can be conceived more accordant with the combined purpose of tracing the descent of Joseph, and of asserting that not he, but his lawful wife Mary only, was actually parent of our Lord. No words could more effectually refute the *à priori* argument of Strauss and others, who, on no ground whatever but the assumed incompatibility of these two purposes, would dis sever the authorship of these genealogies from that of the narratives in which they severally lie, or more strongly discountenance, at the same time, those among orthodox Christians who alone give real materials to such objectors, by themselves treating the two ideas as if they were

incompatible, and founding solely on that assumption their criticism of one out of the two Evangelists.

The definiteness of the Evangelists' testimony on this point is assuredly not impaired by consulting, what is ever the surest guide to their meaning, the ideas of the great body by whom their writings were received and preserved. If we ask what is the testimony of the early Church respecting that which is grammatically so plain in the sacred record, we find no tradition more clear, more perpetual and universal, than that which represents the two genealogies as differing only in giving the natural and the legal descent of *Joseph*. From the earliest period of the Church, when these apparently discrepant passages were scrutinized, down to the fifteenth century, no pressure of the difficulty on the one hand, and no reverence on the other for the Blessed among women, and her undivided prerogative (so manifest in both these passages, and so constantly imprinted on Christian faith from its first commencement) as sole human parent of the Divine Redeemer, ever tempted even her ardent votaries to transfer either of these genealogies from the reputed legal father to her. It was not till the era of what is commonly called the revival of letters that some of the Roman communion³², departing from the approved Schoolmen as well as Fathers, began to pronounce it due and reasonable that St Luke should give the genealogy of the Virgin. And the same method of both cutting the knot of difficulty in comparing the two Evangelists, and satisfying the apparent requisition of reason in the case, was eagerly adopted by a large proportion of Protestants, with whom, from Luther, Chemnitz, Gomar and others³³, to the present time, this has ever been a favourite, though not a universal, exposition. It was then found that Heli might be after all the father, not of Joseph who is named, but of Mary understood: nay that, despite of the radical distinction in

³² This was done first apparently in the 16th century by the Franciscan Petrus Galatinus, *de Arcanis Catholice Veritatis*, Lib. VII. c. 12 (departing here from the excellent author of the thirteenth century, from whom the best parts of his book are stolen, the Dominican Raymund Martin; who, in his *Pugio Fidei* (p. 745, &c. ed. Carpzov. maintains the old opinion of Christians on this matter): afterwards by Dominicus a Soto, Jansenius, and a few others, whom Spanheim cites as his Papal precursors in the new opinion.

³³ *Vid.* Spanhem. *Dub. Ec.* Tom. I. p. 105, Surenhus. *Conciliationes*, pp. 323, 324, where the different opinions are detailed. Piscator, having once adopted this view, afterwards abandoned it for the ancient opinion: like several others in later times.

Hebrew between the two names, Heli might be formed from Eliakim, which, as in 2 Kings xxiii. 34, is convertible to Joakim³⁴, the name traditionally assigned to the father of the blessed Virgin. And since it was somewhat too harsh to understand Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ἠλί to mean "of Joseph who was the son-in-law of Heli," a further expedient was found to supersede that necessity. It was found that the article τοῦ, both here and to the end of the pedigree, does not agree, as is usual in such statements, with υἱοῦ understood, referring always to the *preceding* name as its subject, but belongs ever on the contrary to the name that follows it (notwithstanding the very adverse circumstance that the first name Ἰωσήφ has no article); these generations not being governed by one another, but all governed by the single nomi-

³⁴ This exchange of the name from אֱלִיָּקִים "Deus stabiliet" for the equivalent, but more emphatic, יְהוָה יְקִים, "'O ŌN stabiliet," made first by the Egyptian conqueror Necho, in the vain hope of confirming the authority of his tributary king, the son of Josiah, over the people of Palestine*, may indeed have been repeated elsewhere. But the first element of this name Eliakim, viz. אֱלִי, differs in its initial radical letter and etymology from Ἠλί, with which it is here sought to connect it, as completely and incommutably as do their respective correlatives in Arabic, *Allah* الله and *Ali* علي. The difference, though inex-

pressible in any other than the Semitic languages, is in them real and insuperable: and therefore the notion of Vossius *de Gen. J. C.* p. 31, as though "*Joukim* non alius sit ac *Eliakim*, *Eli* vero ex *Eliakim* per præcisionem, in nominibus propriis haud insolentem, factum videatur," is less worthy of that great philologist than of the Pseudo-Philo or Annius, who first broached it.

Putting the etymology however aside, a support to this opinion, of the father of the Virgin being also called Heli, may be found in a Homily bearing the name of Alcuin, *de Nat. Virg. Mariæ* (Opp. Tom. II. p. 540). "Nec nos latet, quod de ejus sancta nativitate liber legitur a quibusdam, ubi describitur meritum genitoris atque genitricis ejusdem Virginis, et vocabulum utriusque, HELI videlicet atque ANNA. Quod opusculum apocryphum, sicut etiam *de Transitu* ejusdem Virginis alterum habetur; ne recipetur ab Ecclesia certum pro incerto, dubium pro vero." Now, though neither the author of the Homily, nor of the apocryphal book thus worthily censured, had any more idea of identifying this Heli with the Heli of our Lord's genealogy, than of identifying Anna, the constant traditional name of the Virgin's mother, with the holy widow who worshipped the infant Saviour in the temple, this testimony, such as it is, to the name of the Virgin's father, comes in aid of the modern gloss on Luke iii. 23: and may take its place by the equally solitary testimony which the learned Lightfoot has been able to find among the enemies of Christianity (though he does not express himself confidently as to the truth of his interpretation of its import), where a certain Jew is reported to have seen *Mariam the daughter of Eli*, "in the shades," and tormented. *Horæ Heb. in loc.* For as to the two other Rabbinical statements alleged by P. Galatinus to the same effect, (*de Arcanis Cath. Ver.* p. 408, ed. Francof. 1602), though repeated in respectable authors since, their spuriousness will be manifest to any who will compare Carpzov. *Introductio in Theolog. Jud.* cap. 12, p. 102, Lips. 1687.

* This remarkable circumstance is connected by J. D. Michaelis, in the *Göttingen Transactions* of 1751, with a singular speculation of J. M. Gesner in the same volume (pp. 245–262, and 267–290), concerning the use of the Sacred Hebrew Tetragrammaton by the Egyptians as a divine symbol; also that this ΙΕΗΩΥΑ was the origin of their worship διὰ τῶν ἐντὰ φωνηέντων, as reported by Demetrius Phalereus and others, and that the same Name is implied in the seven Apocalyptic spirits.

native *viós*, denoting "lineal descendant," i. e. *nepos*, *pronepos*, *abnepos*, &c. as required for the several receding ancestors³⁵.

These are, to say the least, violent modes of dealing with ordinary language. But to leave criticism, and come to history. If these forced interpretations had any foundation in the truth of the case to justify them, it is impossible but that those in the earliest ages by whom the exegetical difficulty was strongly felt must have had some apprehension of a fact which thus summarily disposed of the matter in question, and left nothing in the two Evangelists to reconcile. But not the least trace of such apprehension appears: the facts or rumours, whether well or ill founded, which were elicited by the difficulty in the earliest times, were all of a totally different nature from this. Julius Africanus, a Christian writer of Palestine early in the third century, speaks of certain persons residing in the villages of Nazareth and Cochaba, who, from their kindred to our Lord, were called Desposyni, from whose statements, said to be founded on private memoranda of genealogies of which the originals had been destroyed by Herod, he gives the following account. Mathan of Solomon's house was the first husband of Estha, and Melchi of Nathan's house the second: the issues of these marriages were respectively Jacob and Heli: the latter dying childless, his half-brother Jacob begat Joseph of Heli's widow: Joseph was therefore reckoned naturally, as in St Matthew's gospel, but legally, as in St Luke's. So far this ancient author: who however does not express himself confidently on the detail³⁶; and who, as it might appear from this statement, read

³⁵ F. Gomar *de Genealogia Christi*, p. 45, Lightfoot, *Horæ Heb. in Luc.* iii. 23, &c. &c. For this construction (extending, as it is zealously argued, to the τοῦ Θεοῦ at the end of the chapter) Gen. xxxvi. 2 is adduced as a solitary precedent; but is far from bearing it out. Vossius (p. 30), though not without hesitation, adopts this construction: and so does another writer on the Genealogies of our Lord, E. Yardley (Lond. 1739), who also makes Salathiel the son-in-law of Neri, as well as Joseph the son-in-law of Heli. Though he thus escapes an inconsistency chargeable on Lightfoot, and all those among the advocates of this last opinion who at the same time reject a double Salathiel and Zorobabel,—viz. that of admitting for the earlier divergency of the genealogies a solution, which they reject as inadmissible for the later one,—he does so by a hypothesis so utterly gratuitous and unreasonable, as to be quite unworthy of notice in discussing the double parentage of Salathiel.

³⁶ Ὅλγοι δὴ τῶν ἐπιμελῶν, ἰδιωτικὰς ἐαυτοῖς ἀπογραφάς, ἢ μνημονεύσαντες τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἢ ἄλλως ἔχοντες ἐξ ἀντιγράφων, ἐναβρύνονται σωζομένης τῇ μνήμῃ τῆς εὐγενείας· ὧν ἐτύγχανον οἱ προειρημένοι Δεσπόσυνοι καλούμενοι, διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ σωτήριον γένος συνάθειαν· ἀπὸ τε Ναζάρων καὶ Κωχαβὰ κωμῶν Ἰουδαϊκῶν τῇ λοιπῇ γῇ ἐπιφοιτήσαντες, καὶ τὴν προειρημένην γενεαλογίαν (ἐκ μνήμης) ἐκ τε τῆς βίβλου τῶν ἡμερῶν εἰς ὅσον ἐξικνούντο ἐξηγησάμενοι· εἴτ' οὖν οὕτως, εἴτ' ἄλλως ἔχοι, σαφε-

St Luke thus, ὧν, ὡς ἐνομιζέτο, υἱὸς Ἰωσήφ τοῦ Ἡλὶ τοῦ Μελχί, without the interposition between the last two of the words τοῦ Ματθαὶ τοῦ Λευί³⁷. This solution is exactly repeated by

στέραν ἐξήγησεν οὐκ ἂν ἔχοι τις ἄλλος ἐξευρεῖν ὡς ἐγωγε νομίζω, πᾶς τε δὲ εὐγνώμων τυγχάνει· καὶ ἡμῶν αὕτη μελέτω, εἰ καὶ μὴ ἐμμάρτυρός ἐστι, τῷ μὴ κρείττονα ἢ ἀληθεστέραν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν· τὸ μὲντοι εὐαγγέλιον πάντως ἀληθεύει. *Africani ep. ad Aristid.* (given, with important additions to the extract of Euseb. i. 7, in Routh, *Reliq. Sacrae*, Tom. II. pp. 114—123). The doubtful expressions here used, of which Valesius makes too much in his note, do not imply that the narrative was unsupported by testimony altogether (which were to contradict what had been strongly asserted before), but by the only sure testimony of contemporary written records: and this looser kind of testimony, dependent partly on the memory of what those men stated themselves to have once seen, is contrasted with the infallible certainty of the Gospel. (It may be added, that the village of Κωχαβὰ

كوكب still exists under the same name in the vicinity of Nazareth, though now inhabited solely by Mahometans. See the lists of Robinson and Smith, in Vol. III. p. 132 of Dr E. Robinson's *Biblical Researches in Palestine*.)

Africanus's tradition (which is also repeated without alteration by Euseb. *ad Stephanum*, *Quest.* iv. in *Luc.* p. 23, ed. Ang. Maii, by Origen *on St Luke*, by St Gregory of Nyssa, St Augustine and other Fathers), is well set forth in the following verses of St Gregory Nazianzen.

Φράξε δὲ καὶ τόδε μοι, πατέρων δύο πῶς ποτ' Ἰωσήφ.
 Τέθμιον ἦν Μωσῆος, ἐπὶν ἄσπερμος δληται
 Ἑβραῖος, κάσιν ἢ τιν ὀλωλότος, ἢ τινα πηῶν
 Ἐγγύθεν, αἶψα δάμαρτα φίλην καὶ κτῆσιν ἔχοντα,
 Σπερμαίνειν φθιμένῳ τε γόνον καὶ ὄκον ἀέξειν,
 Ὅφρα κε μὴ νῶνυμος ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν δληται.
 Τοῦνεκα κρυπτὸν ὑπερθε Θεοῦ βροτέου τόδ' ἀνεῦρον.
 Ματθάν, ἐκ Σολομῶνος ἄγων γένος, ἡγάγετ' Ἐσθάν·
 Τοῦ δ' ἄρ' ἀποφθιμένοιο, Ναθείδης οὐνομα Μελχί·
 Καὶ τῷ μὲν Ἰακώβ, τῷ δ' Ἡλὲλ γέλνατο παῖδας.
 Ἡλὲλ δὲ φθιμένοιο, ἐπεὶ γόνον οὕτω' ἔλειπεν,
 Αἶψα δόμον τε λέχος τε Ἰακώβ οὐχ ὀμῶπατρος
 Δέξατο, καὶ τέκεν υἱὸν ἀδελφεῷ ἐσθλὸν Ἰωσήφ.

[*Carm.* xviii. Tom. II. p. 267, ed. Ben.]

³⁷ These two names, Ματθαὶ τοῦ Λευί, occur again together higher up in the ascending pedigree, being the tenth and ninth respectively from Nathan the son of David. From this, and some other frequent repetitions of the same names (this being, however, the only instance of a *double* repetition), Strauss thinks proper to remark, that it has been rightly observed by Hoffmann, that the genealogy is an apparent fabrication! (Vol. i. p. 178). We are hardly justified in inferring from the repetition of two such common names as these, because occurring in succession, that they even passed by mistake of transcription from one place to the other; when all existing MSS. and versions read them in both places. It is certainly somewhat strange that of the many ancient writers who circumstantially repeat this tradition, making Heli the son of Melchi and Estha, none before Bede should have remarked the omission. But that this did not proceed from their copies of St Luke wanting these two names, we know certainly respecting two of them, at least; and may, therefore, not improbably suppose of all. For Nazianzen, whose verses respecting the tradition have been quoted, gives in the same poem St Luke's genealogy complete; its last lines being—

Τοῦ δ' ἀπο Σαλαθιήλ, Ζοροβάβελ, Ῥησά, Ἰωνάν,
 Ἰούδας, Ἰσάκ, Σεμεὶ τ' αὖ, Ματθίας τε,
 Καὶ Μαδθ, Ναγκαί, καὶ Ἐσλείμ· τοῦ δ' ἀπο Ναούμ,
 Ἀμώς, Ματθαθίας, καὶ Ἰωσήφ, ἡδὲ Ἰανναί·
 Μελχί, καὶ Λευί, καὶ Ματθάν, Ἡλὲλ, Ἰωσήφ.

And St Augustine (as already cited, p. 191), equally mentions Matthat and Levi as the second and third progenitors of Joseph.

St John Damascene, with the addition of calling Melchi the son of Levi instead of Joanna, thus making it probable that the words *τοῦ Λευὶ* were not omitted but transposed: and also giving to Melchi a brother called Panther³⁸, whose son Bar-Panther begat Joakim the father of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and second cousin, according to this tradition, of Joseph. St Ambrose gives the statement of Africanus without these additions, in his Commentary on St Luke: but with respect to the two sons of Estha, he cites the tradition as purporting that it was Jacob that died childless, and Heli that performed the required duty of perpetuating his name and family. “Traditur enim Matthan, qui a Salomone genus duxit, Jacob genuisse filium, et uxore superstita decessisse, quam postea Melchi accepit uxorem, ex qua generatus est Heli: rursus *Heli, fratre sine liberis decedente, copulatus est fratris uxori, et generavit filium Joseph, qui juxta legem Jacobi filius dicitur*³⁹.” And this last version of the tradition is preferred by Grotius, De Marca, Lamy, and others; because it is most agreeable to the character of St Matthew’s genealogy to

A more tenable, though still precarious, argument for expunging the later Levi and Matthat is found in Irenæus’s enumeration of only seventy-two generations from the first to the second Adam, which can only be verified by the omission of three names, i. e. assuming these to be the two above-mentioned, and the post-diluvian Cainan (Iren. *adv. Hæreses*, Lib. III. cap. 33).

³⁸ S. Joann. Damasc. *de Fide Orthodoxa*, Lib. IV. cap. 15. But according to Epiphanius, *Hæres.* 78, Panther was the name, not of the Blessed Virgin’s progenitors, but of Jacob, the father of Joseph the carpenter and of Clopas, both of whom are said by him to have borne the same cognomen of Πανθήρ. This is a matter of some interest, because the name by which the unbelieving Jews have ever termed our Lord and Saviour, when ascribing his miracles of healing to magical art, is *ישו בן פנדרא*, *Jesu son of Pandera*. This name, severally written in the *Gemara* and other Jewish writings פנדרא and פנרירא—or, as Celsus obtained it from the Jews of his day, Πανθήρα—is by all these ascribed to the father of Jesus, and connected with hideous blasphemies by all (τυφλῶς, as Origen said of Celsus’s informants, *μυθοποιήσαντες τὴν μοιχείαν τῆς παρθένου καὶ τοῦ Πανθήρα, καὶ τὸν τέκτονα ἐξωσάμενον αὐτήν*, to evade the undeniable facts of St Matthew’s first chapter, without admitting the miraculous conception). Whether the Talmud and the *Toldoth Jesu* agree with Celsus’s informants in distinguishing Pandera from Joseph, or whether in calling the former *Joseph Pandera*, and the affianced husband (whom they represent as a just youth) *Johanan*, they must be considered as varying their story, and including Joseph with Mary in their execrable slander*, is a matter of doubt. Wagenseil, who pursues the subject at length in his *Tela Ignea Satanae*, pp. 22—32, is for the former opinion; Grotius and Vossius for the latter (which would confirm the accuracy of Epiphanius’s tradition of Joseph being called *Panther*, by the testimony of unbelieving as well as Christian Jews).

³⁹ Ambrosii *Opera*, Tom. I. p. 1319, ed. Benedict. (Paris, 1686).

* That these detestable stories are purely Jewish, not Gnostical,—also that they had no existence at first, when spuriousness of birth was never objected to our Lord by his most malignant enemies, but were invented in the 2nd century, when circular letters against Christianity were sent to all the synagogues, as reported by Justin Martyr and Eusebius—is well argued by Grotius on *Matt.* xxvii. 63, and *Act.* xxviii. 22, and by Thilo in a note on the Gospel of Nicodemus (*Cod. Apocryph. N. T.* pp. 526, 7).

exhibit the legal descent of Joseph, as before with respect to Salathiel the heir of the kings; while St Luke, writing to Gentiles, gives the natural parentage of both.

Now though the omission of the two unquestionable names of Levi and Matthat, or Matthan, concurs with the indications of imperfect confidence in the accuracy of this detail in the mind of its faithful reporter⁴⁰, to forbid our implicit adoption of it exactly as it stands; and though the grandfather of Joseph bearing the same name, nearly if not quite, in both genealogies, might rather induce the suspicion that Heli and Jacob are either whole brothers, or different names of one and the same father of Joseph, and that the question should be carried further back, viz. to account for the double paternity of this grandfather Matthan, (sprung from Levi the son of Melchi in one genealogy, and from Eleazar the son of Eliud in another)⁴¹; this mode of conciliation is that which alone met the

⁴⁰ Of one of these we have already remarked the nature and the limits in Note 36; and it is observable that, where most doubting the accuracy of his informants, Africanus expresses the fullest confidence in their veracity: τοῦ Σωτῆρος οἱ κατὰ σάρκα συγγενεῖς, εἴτ' οὖν φανητιῶντες, εἴθ' ἀπλῶς ἐκδιδάσκοντες, πάντως δὲ ἀληθεύοντες.... Nor will the improbability of the story which he thus prefaces as circulated amongst them concerning Herod's origin, in which they are at variance with Josephus and other evidence, but which the feeling of their own wrongs would easily induce them to credit, prove them unworthy of belief in matters that came within their own knowledge; such as Herod's destroying several Davidic genealogies (a thing most highly agreeable to his character, and dread of the expected Messiah), or this matter of the double marriage of Estha. Isaac Casaubon, though in his first *Exercitation on Baronius* (p. 22 seq., ed. Francof. 1615), he utterly discredits their story of the Idumean robbers, and of Herod's alienation from Israel in blood and religion, and not content with establishing against that story the legitimacy of his ancestry's insinuation from the Idumean to the Jewish stock, proceeds to the extreme of arguing even his Davidic character from the existence of the Herodians as a Jewish sect (p. 34), yet fully admits the value of the same persons' testimony in this matter of our Lord's double genealogy. "Non puto extare aliquid istis *aut antiquius, aut fide dignius*." The mind of that eminent scholar and critic rejects the attempts to evade the difficulty by explaining away the words of St Luke: and his testimony to the value of this tradition may well outweigh that of many Rabbinites or mere theorists.

⁴¹ The opinion of the identity of Matthat and Matthan, suggested as we have seen by St Augustine, *Quest. 46 in Deut.*, is embraced by Luther and Junius, though their modes of reconciling the genealogies are different. May not the actual tradition of the Desposyni have been the following! Matthan of the house of Abiud was the first husband of Estha, and Melchi of the house of Rhesa the second: the issues of these marriages were respectively Jacob and Levi: the former dying childless, his widow was married by his half-brother Levi: the son thus begotten to preserve Jacob's name and inheritance in Israel was therefore called by the name of the deceased's father Matthan: and this second Matthan, or Matthat, was the father of Heli the father of Joseph. The two generations next above Joseph are upon this hypothesis omitted by St Matthew, like many others in his genealogy: and the substitution of Heli for Levi in the report of Africanus might be accounted for by his referring the statement he heard to Joseph instead

difficulties of the case, **as they struck** those most capable of understanding and **appreciating** them. And the consistency and **probability** of this method, which has the best credential, **that** of early tradition, in its favour, may be well defended against those modern interpreters who are led to scout it as worthless, partly by their attachment to Rabbinical authority in these matters, and partly by reliance on *à priori* views, and the equally novel and violent interpretation which has been given to the third Gospel. We are told on the authority of the Mishna and its commentators, respecting the duty towards brothers' widows imposed by the Mosaic code⁴², that from the obligations of that law brothers merely by the mother's side are altogether excluded,—that, in the words of Maimonides, “uterine brothers

of his grandfather, the memory also of the Desposyni being probably not so accurate as to forbid their admitting the mistake. But however this may be, from their mention of *Melchi* the fourth above Joseph as the second husband (though the copies of the Gospel in their time as well as ours placed him thus remote from our Lord's reputed father, and a mere attempt to reconcile the Gospels would have naturally led rather to a comparison of *Matthat* with Matthan), we seem to perceive, both that their statement was founded simply on the recollection of a fact, and that its reporters also have not suffered their own recollection of St Luke's text to interfere with the substantial faithfulness of their representation.

⁴² See the Misnic Tract *יבמות ב' מ"א* on this subject, occupying the first part of the third volume of Surenhusius's edition. Selden in his *Uxor Ebraica*, Lib. I. Cap. 12, observes: "Animadvertendum est Talmudicorum sententiam illam receptissimam, qua fratres uterinos ad hanc legem non spectare docent, planissime adversari eis, qui in D. N. Jesu Christi genealogia Jacob et Heli uterinos fuisse fratres asserentes, alterum alterius sine liberis demortui uxorem ex hac lege summisse contendunt." For this legal opinion, which he adopts as his own and pursues further in his treatise on the Hebrew Succession to Property, ch. 14, he cites, as Jewish authorities, the *Gemara Babylonica* tit. *Basa Bathra*, fol. 11, *Halacoth Gedaloth*, num. 31, *Mosis Mekotzi præcep. affirm.* 51. The opposition is indeed clear and undenied.

Another great jurist, Hugo Grotius, adopts the same opinion of the inadmissibility of uterine brothers; not, however, like Selden, from deference to Rabbinical authority, but reasoning from the spirit of the law of levirate, as concerning only succession to property: and on the principles laid down by him, the exclusion would be done away if the mother were *ἐπίκληρος*, i.e. without brothers, and therefore possessed of patrimonial property in her own right, to which her sons would succeed. In thus objecting to Africanus's story, Grotius is not led by the same views as Spanheim, Lightfoot, and others, in this argument: for he, like Casaubon, rejects altogether the modern mode of explaining away St Luke's parentage of Joseph, and considers that there is nothing more authoritative and deserving notice on this question than the report of the Desposyni: only he thinks, very reasonably, that the interval between the events and their testimony might unite with a misunderstanding or preconceived opinion in Africanus, to cause some depravation in it. His modification is this, that while Jacob and Heli were, as above, both sons of Estha by the respective fathers (Matthan of Abiud's line, and Melchi of Rhesa's), and the elder of the uterine brothers died childless, Joseph the son of the younger Heli is only called the son of Jacob because he succeeded to his estate. But this seems too substantial a change of the story, to come under the character of an insensible depravation: and it were surely better, even adopting Grotius's principles, to conceive Estha an heiress, and accept the solution as given by St Ambrose (p. 200 *sup.*).

are not reckoned brothers" by the law,—that consequently such a conjuncture as is here supposed to account for a double paternity where the grandfathers are also different, is a legal impossibility. It is true that the Talmudic doctors say this: they say also that *none* beside a brother, that is, no one who had not the same father and mother, or at least the same father, could come under the terms of the obligation stated in Deut. xxv. 5—10, and the penalty of the "loosing of the shoe," as they commonly term it, annexed to its non-observance: and they state further, that the law fell into desuetude long before the time now in question (and consequently, as we may add, long before any written record of their own interpretative traditions), viz. at the time of the captivity of Babylon⁴³. Yet looking at the period when this usage was confessedly in force, and in unison with the habits and feelings of the people, every thing appears opposed to this close restriction of the Talmudists. In the ante-Mosaic instance of Tamar, we see an intimation given, that in the event of brothers failing, or being withheld from performing this duty, even a father might acknowledge it as a righteous obligation on himself⁴⁴. It is equally certain, in the period of the Judges, that Boaz was not very nearly related to the deceased son of Elimelech and Naomi; yet he declares to the people of Bethlehem, when purchasing the inheritance of the childless defunct person⁴⁵, that he then espouses the wife of Mahlon, in order "to raise up the name of the deceased upon his inheritance:" nor did he do this before summoning all the relatives of the deceased, to know whether among them some might be found nearer of kin than himself, to take the estate encumbered with the same obligation. This certainly, to say the least, looks like a reference to the law of Deut. xxv., as well as to the antecedent usage, common to the Jews with

⁴³ Vid. P. Fagius in *Deut.* xxv. 6, 9; Turner's *Boaz and Ruth*, p. 184; the latter contending even that the law was disused long before. Both opinions are refuted not only by the positive testimony of writers more ancient and trustworthy than the later Rabbins, but by the singular minuteness with which, at a period very long subsequent to the return from Babylon, the Misnic doctors themselves lay down the law on this subject, for all conceivable variety of cases. *Mishna, ut sup.*, Tom. III. pp. 1—55. It is not thus that men discuss a law which had been obsolete for eight centuries before their writing: the material of the statement is evidently a traditional recollection, however confused and undigested, of what was the common law and usage in Palestine, as adjudged by the Jewish lawyers before the last great dispersion.

⁴⁴ Gen. xxxviii. 8—11 and 26.

⁴⁵ Ruth iv. 10, 11, 12; coll. iii. 12, 13 and iv. 4, 5, 6.

some Gentile⁴⁶ nations; and the reference to Tamar in the response of the Bethlehemites confirms the idea. It should seem, therefore, most evident that in the ancient understanding of the law on this head, the reason why brethren only are mentioned in that statute is because the obligation to perpetuate the deceased's name in this manner was properly and primarily theirs: but that where there were no brothers, the obligation descended to those next of kin, and included even a very wide range of relationship. And if the Talmudists are therefore at variance with the ancient Israelites in this respect, why are we to believe on their authority, that uterine brothers are peculiarly excluded? For remote as we grant these to have been esteemed, in the spirit of the Hebrew law, in comparison with a much less degree of consanguinity on the father's side, we may judge, notwithstanding, from analogy, that as females might inherit when there were no sons⁴⁷, so, if paternal kindred failed, rather than that the name of the deceased should be allowed to perish, a relative even by the female line might take the place and perform the duty of a father's kinsman. And does not the book of Ruth itself contain one unequivocal indication that the very relative now in question, the brother by the mother's side only, might perform that office for the deceased? It is certainly difficult to understand otherwise that part of Naomi's address to her desolate daughters-in-law, where she introduces, for the purpose of setting aside, the idea of her own marrying again, and having husbands to bestow upon them⁴⁸. It is diffi-

⁴⁶ See the proofs of the Attic law, *Orbam proximus ducat* (as stated by Donatus on Terence's *Phormio*), in Grotius's note on *Matt.* i. 16. There was also an ancient Egyptian law, against the observance of which there is a rescript of the Emperor Zeno, prescribing the levirate obligation in the case of wives merely betrothed to the deceased brother, and yet virgins: (a case to which the whole of the Pharisaical school of Shammai, and the Samaritans also, would restrict the levirate law of Moses: though refuted in this by several O. T. examples. *Mishna*, Tom. III. pp. 42, 49. Grot. in *Deut.* xxv. Turner's *Boaz and Ruth*, p. 117). The Brahmans of India also speak of a similar law as in force in the earlier and better ages of the world, though now in the Cali Yuga it is prohibited as incestuous: just as the present Jews, according to Fagius, anathematize the continual practice of a law, which was strictly obligatory on them when they had landed possessions and inheritance.

⁴⁷ Numbers xxxvi.

⁴⁸ Ruth i. 11—13. For the manner in which the Rabbins evade the plain import of this place, vid. Selden, *de Successionibus*, p. 57; Turner, *ut sup.*, p. 158—161. According to Grotius's view of the law of levirate, as stated in note 42, *sup.*, this obligation could not possibly devolve on the future sons of Naomi, unless she had been herself an heiress like the daughters of Selophehad, so that the prospective sons would have an equal right to her inheritance with the sons deceased. But that this was not the case, is clear from ch. iv. 3, proving that

cult to understand this otherwise than as indicating that if she had such,—(which at her age was hopeless, and moreover required too long waiting on the part of Orpah and Ruth),—the obligation which Boaz afterwards took on himself would have properly devolved on them; and not only would the duty of perpetuating the family and name of the deceased Chilion and Mahlon descend in strictness to these merely uterine brothers, the children of Naomi by another husband, and efface the stain of incest which would otherwise attach to such a connexion by the law⁴⁹, but it would then become also the widows' duty to await the time when that obligation could be discharged, and not think of any other husbands than these.

The only real difficulty, therefore, which is created by the Talmudic view of the law in question, is this: how far it may be conceived to represent the ideas and practice of the Jews at the time we are now considering—the age of our Lord's more immediate ancestry, towards the close of the Asmonæan period. But the Jewish monuments of that age are far from confirming on this matter the notions of the Misnic doctors. Instead of their *absolute* restriction of the obligation in Deut. xxv. 5, to the son of the same father, and the consequent understanding of the term *וְאִשׁ זָרָה* *viro alieno* as comprising every one, however near in blood, beside that nearest fraternity—as St Jerome (favouring here the more recent Jewish notion) renders it “non nubet alteri”—the older Alexandrine interpreters of the Pentateuch, by rendering it *ἀνδρὶ μὴ ἐγγίζοντι*, indicate the Jewish understanding of their time to be, that any one who was not *thus* a stranger, i. e. who was near of kin to the deceased, might be a subject of the obligation of that statute. Even the circumstance of their rendering the single word *יָבֵם*, *levir*, not by its proper well-known Greek word *δαήρ*, but by the periphrasis *ἀδελφὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός*, may be not improbably conceived to intimate the same thing; considering the large general use of the term *ἀδελφός*, *brother*, in the Hellenistic writings, as in the New Testament. But to come nearer to the argument before us. Whereas the Talmudists are reduced, on their principles, to separate altogether from that Mosaic statute the act of Boaz in

the land, which Naomi held, was not her own patrimony, but that of her late husband Elimelech.

⁴⁹ Leviticus xviii. 6, 16.

espousing the Moabitic widow of his deceased kinsman; the opinion of an older Hebrew, a Pharisee well instructed from his earliest youth⁵⁰ in all the law and customs of his nation, Flavius Josephus, proves the notion of the Jews in the Cæsars' age to have been altogether different. For he connects the transaction in his narrative of it with the law of Deut. xxv., even to the loosening of the shoe, and spitting in the face of the recusant kinsman⁵¹. The law which that kinsman was superseded for not fulfilling, and which was fulfilled by Boaz himself, was, therefore, in the estimation of the Jews of our Saviour's time, as well as in the internal aspect of the case, the law of levirate and no other. And consequently, with a proof so indubitably Jewish of the novelty as well as the groundlessness of the Rabbinical comments, we have no reason from the Hebrew law, as ever practised and understood in Palestine, to suspect the goodness of the most ancient solution which has descended to us. As So-

⁵⁰ Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* Lib. xx. cap. 11, § 2, et *Vita*, § 2. When these professions of skill in the law, for which even the chief priests were wont to consult him, are treated by Selden as a mere vain boast of the accomplished historian, it is on no other ground than that "Fl. Josephum in eis, quæ ad leges gentis suæ civiles atque res forenses attinent, a receptissimis Talmudicorum sententiis nimium discrepare" (*De Success.* p. 63): and therefore it only evinces the strength of a prepossession which led that great scholar to sacrifice to an inferior authority, because precise and dogmatical, an older and a better one.

⁵¹ See the history as told by Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* Lib. v. cap. 9, §§ 3, 4, in which, though many circumstances occur which are not in Ruth iii. iv., we deny that, among the errors of which he may be suspected on that account, the reference to the law of Deut. xxv. is one, or his making the obligation of that law one of nearest kin, *κατὰ ἀγγιστεῖαν*, when there was no brother: though Selden has devoted the 14th chapter of his book on Successions to establish this point against him, "de Nuptiis Boazi et Ruthæ, eas ad legem de fratria duenda non spectare." The absurdity of the Jewish authors, on whose legal decisions this paradox is grounded, might lead any unprejudiced reader to distrust their authority, and to think that of Josephus possibly better (*e.g.* Solomon Jarchi making the kinsman's refusal to proceed on Ruth's being a Moabitess, and thus marring his inheritance: which is not only repugnant to the actual objection, but to the law, as Selden himself observes, the disqualification of Moabites and Ammonites being declared by the Mishna not to extend to females). Selden's Talmudism is well refuted by an ingenious author, John Turner, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, in his discussion of this particular subject, Lond. 1685; and a more recent and able master of Hebrew law, writing without any view to controversy on this subject, bears ample testimony to the truth here contended for, and obscured by Selden's Rabbinical authorities. After stating, what it were vain to deny, that the word *אֶחָא* in Deut. xxv. 5, means a brother in the strictest sense; yet, adds Michaelis, "When there was no brother alive, or when he declined the duty, the Levirate law, as we learn from the book of Ruth, extended to the next nearest relation of the deceased husband, as, for instance, to his fraternal uncle or nephew; so that, at last, even pretty remote kinsmen, in default of nearer ones, might be obliged to undertake it. Boaz does not appear to have been very nearly related to Ruth, as he did not so much as know who she was when he fell in love with her when she gleaned in his fields. He did not know that he was any relation of her, until apprised of it by her mother-in-law." (*Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, Art. 98. Vol. II. pp. 32, 33 of Smith's translation.)

lomon's royal line, when it failed in the childless Jeconiah, was supplied from the line of Nathan; so also the line of descendants (to which, though in obscurity and privacy, the royal rights of David and Solomon subsequently descended) was supplied, on a failure of issue, from a junior branch of the descendants of Nathan and Zorobabel; though not by adoption, as in the other case, but by a method equally agreeable to the law, and respectably attested as matter of fact⁵². The mother of the last childless representative, Estha, being an heiress of the house of David, her son by a second husband, of the inferior line, became bound by the law to perpetuate the name of his deceased half-brother of the superior one; and in the offspring of this union with the deceased's widow, i. e. either in Joseph himself or in his grandfather Matthan, the divergent lines are again united.

Having thus considered the two statements in the Gospels which our predecessors in the faith have delivered to us as the oracles of God, and shown that there is no contradiction in them which will not admit of a probable and a well-attested reconciliation, we may now proceed to a topic which neither the objection of the infidel, nor the enquiring scruple of the believer, will allow us to exclude altogether from this argument, though its

⁵² "*Hoc in eorum literis inventum est qui recenti memoria post ascensionem Domini de hac re scripserunt.*" Thus truly writes St Augustine in his second book of *Retractations*, cap. 7, concerning this solution; deeming it so indubitable from the antiquity of its witnesses and the mention of the name of the wife of Matthan and of Melchi, that he there states it as what he ought to have produced to the Manichean impugner of the genealogies, instead of the general answer of the possibility of a merely adoptative parentage: "*Quod quidem cum Fausto responderem, nondum legeram: sed tamen per adoptionem potuisse contingere, ut unus homo duos haberet patres, dubitare non poteram.*" S. Aug. *Opp.* Tom. I. p. 44, ed. Bened.

To discredit the story of the Desposyni from the prevalence of heresy in the parts of Galilee* where they dwelt (with Dodwell, *Dissert. in Irenæum*, § 20, p. 38), is to set a precarious surmise against the testimony of a learned and orthodox author. Nor should the existence of kindred of our Lord in the time of Africanus appear incredible, when we know from another excellent authority, the historian Hegesippus, that, shortly before, another branch of that family in Judæa excited a Herod-like alarm in Domitian, till their evident poverty and indifference to earthly politics disarmed the jealous fears of the tyrant, by converting them into contempt. Euseb. *H. E.* Lib. III. capp. 19, 20.... But the true and indeed avowed cause for disparaging this testimony, that has actuated Bp. Montague, Dr South, and other writers in our Church (*argumentum, omnium quotquot in Africanum torquentur gravissimum*, as truly stated by Dr Routh, the venerable President of Magdalene College, Oxford), is the presumed necessity of finding in one of the Evangelists the genealogy of our Lord's only true parent: how reasonably I have attempted to show.

* The existence of peculiarly authoritative records of high families in the district where these men dwelt, viz. about Nazareth and Sephoris, particularly at a place called יִסְנָה, seems attested in the *Mishna*, tract *Kiddushin*, Art. 5. (*Vid.* p. 193, *sup.* note 28.)

consideration has been purposely deferred till now. Since it is an article of faith, even among the most sacred and fundamental, that the Son of God, who in the fulness of time was "*made of a woman, made under the law*" (Gal. iv. 4), assumed humanity entirely from the substance of the Virgin Mary his mother, of whom, without human paternity, he was miraculously born: since also the fact, that this incarnate Son was of the race and lineage of David according to the flesh is not only often repeated by the Apostles, but placed in something like the form of a creed, among the first elements of Christian belief⁵³: whence is it, that, instead of a genealogy which would set this point of faith satisfactorily before our eyes, viz. the genealogy of the Virgin mother, we have but the genealogy of her affianced husband; who, however he might be the source of legal rights to our Lord, was in no natural or true sense his parent? Let us see whether the sober and reverent enquiry into the reasons of this will compel us to rescind or modify the preceding conclusions.

It is clear that the perplexity of this case would be greatly relieved to all minds, if the parentage of Joseph involved in it, as a necessary consequence, the descent of his affianced wife Mary from the same family. But the law which ancient and modern writers have cited for this purpose, that of Num. xxxvi. 6—9, prohibits extraneous marriages, not to all females generally, but only to such as, like the daughters of Selophehad, were without brothers, and therefore held patrimonial property in their own right: for it is to these alone that the reason there alleged throughout applies, viz. that the estate, great or small, might not go out of the tribe, and so confuse the inheritances of the sons of Israel. In no other case was there the least restriction on the intermarriage of different tribes; as we learn abundantly from the instance of the Benjamites in the last chapter of the book of Judges, who, except for the anathema pronounced against them, might take wives of any tribe in Israel; also of Michal the daughter of Saul of that same tribe, who was betrothed to David of Judah; of Elisheba and Jehosheba of the tribe of Judah, espoused respectively in different ages to Aaron

⁵³ 2 Tim. ii. 8. Μνημόνευε Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐγγεγεμένον ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ, κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου. Cf. Rom. i. 3 (Heb. vii. 14); Act. ii. 30, 32, xiii. 22, 23; Apocal. xxii. 16.

and to Jehoiada of the tribe of Levi, &c. &c.⁵⁴: the same instances also proving how impossible it is to conclude from Mary's near kindred to Elisabeth, of the family of Aaron, that she also was of the Levitical tribe; since Elisabeth by the mother's side might be connected with the tribe of Judah, and thus be related to Mary. The question therefore whether the Virgin's descent from David is inferred as a necessary consequence from that of Joseph resolves itself into this; whether she was entitled to inherit for herself, or in other words had no brother. Tradition is indeed very constant to this being the fact: but the Gospels which ascribe to her one sister, Mary the wife of Clopas⁵⁵, witness only by silence to the absence of brothers. The matter therefore, however probable, as urged by several⁵⁶ both of the ancients and moderns who have truly conceived this question, yet wants that sole indubitable proof from Scripture, which a matter of that consequence might appear to many minds to require. And it is indeed less from any deduction of the Virgin's understood genealogy from that of Joseph, than from other independent proofs, that we are enabled to assert with confidence her descent from David. Such is the angelic address, Luke i. 32—35, saying that the holy offspring of her womb, engendered by the Holy Spirit without human paternity, should inherit the throne of David his father over the house of Jacob; and such is also the manner in which she is mentioned in the next chapter, as enrolling herself⁵⁷ with her

⁵⁴ Judg. xxi. 17, 18; 1 Sam. xviii. 17—26; Exod. vi. 23; 2 Chron. xxii. 11, &c.

⁵⁵ John xix. 25: Εἰστήκεισαν δὲ παρὰ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, καὶ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνῇ.

⁵⁶ "Fuisse autem Mariam non ἐπίπροικον qualis ultra dotem nihil ex patrimonio perciperet; sed ἐπίκληρον sive hæredem, jam olim ab Eusebio Emisseno (ut vocant, qui potius est Eucherius Lugdunensis) homiliâ de Nativitate Christi proditum fuit. Ac eo id verisimilius est, quia neque in Scripturis, nec alibi uspiam, mentio fiat fratris Mariæ, sed solum sororis." Vossius, *de Gen. J. C.*, cap. i. Art. 13. Thus also Grotius on *Matt. i. 16*: "Quamquam vero Maria in re tenui fuit, quod et hospitium Bethlehemiticum et paupertina turturum oblatio satis evincit, nihilominus valere in ipsa jus τῶν ἐπικληρῶν debuit, ob divinas promissiones factas Davidis posteritati, quæ tanto in pretio erant apud Judeos, ut etiam post excisa Hierosolyma in exiliî sui sedibus Patriarchas sibi non aliunde quam ex Davidis stirpe præfererint," &c. &c. He confirms this by the example of Sara in the book of Tobit; and remarks on this, and the testimony of Philo and Josephus, refuting the Talmudical assertion that this law of portioned virgins marrying only in their own tribe became obsolete at Babylon (as they pretend also for the Levirate law. Compare notes 43 and 51 *sup.*).

⁵⁷ The words ἀπογράψασθαι σὺν Μαρίας τῇ μεμνηστευμένη αὐτῷ γυναικί, οὕτως ἐγκύω, in Luke ii. 5, distinctly indicate that Mary accompanied Joseph for the purpose of being enrolled herself: which she would not have been at Bethlehem,

husband in the Davidic census at Bethlehem. This circumstance might therefore increase our wonder that her genealogy is not recorded, rather than his: that this great matter, however probable, should be so left in the inspired record, that not only heretics, but some men of undoubted piety and catholicity, have been found to believe, and even attempt to prove, the descent of Mary from the priestly tribe⁵⁸.

unless herself of the tribe of Judah, and of the race of Salmon his sixth descendant, i. e. of the family (if not directly descended) of David the king. Some also (as Spanheim, Vol. I. p. 135) think that the words ἐξ οἴκου Δαυὶδ, in Luke i. 27, belong to Mary as well as Joseph: but this is extremely questionable.

⁵⁸ Thus we find not only the Manicheans, through hostility to the Davidic origin of the spiritual Saviour, maintaining Mary's descent from Aaron; and false gospels uniting in the legend of the high-priesthood of Joakim her father; but even St Gregory Nazianzen, in his poem on the genealogy, deducing the same wrong inference from the Angelic address that spoke of John's mother as her kinswoman, and vindicating it from the alleged impossibility of an union of Levi with Judah, by the true argument of Aaron's alliance with Naasson (though misstated in its detail, through a lapse of memory, by him as by Epiphanius), and the utterly untrue one of a confusion of tribes at Babylon.

Ἐκ μὲν Ἰωσήφ
Πῶς ὄγει; παρθενικῆς γὰρ ἦν πᾶσι· ἐκ Μαρίας δὲ
Δευίδης· Μαριάμ γὰρ ἀφ' αἵματος ἦεν Ἀαρών.
Μάρτυς δ' ἄγγελος ἄμυν, ἐπεὶ Προδρόμοιο γενέθλην
'Αγγέλων μεγάλου Φόβου θεοειδέϊ μητρὶ,
Μητέρας ἀμφοτέρας ὅγ' ἀνήγαγεν ἐς μέγαν Ἀαρών.
(Obj.) Φρήτραι δ' αὖ βασιλῆος ἀμύγες ἡ δ' ἱερῶν.
(Resp.) Οὐκ ἔτυμον. φρήτραι μὲν ἔσαν δίσχα, πολλάκι δ' αὖτε
Μιγρυντο· πρόσθεν μὲν Ἀρῶν μεγάλου θύγατρα
'Ηγάγετ' ἐς μέγα δῶμα Νασσών, ὃς δ' ἀπ' Ἰούδα
'Εκτος ἦν· μετέπειτα δ' ἐπεὶ πόλιν ὤλεσεν αἰχμῇ
'Ασσυρίων, Βαβυλῶν τε τὰ τέθρια πάντα τίναζεν,
Οὐδὲ φυλῶν τῇμόσδε διακριδὼν αἶμα φυλάχθη.
Οὕτω μὲν διὰ μητρὸς ἀνέρχεται ἐς βασιλῆας.

[Tom. II. p. 268, ed. Ben.]

There is also in Nicephorus, *Hist. Ecc. Lib. II. cap. 3, fin.*, a fragment pretending to give the genealogy of both Mary and Elisabeth, as first cousins, from Matthan a high priest, and mixing it up strangely with that of Joseph; which, though ascribed by that credulous and uncritical author to the ancient Hippolytus Martyr, Bishop of Portus, is in fact part of the Chronicle of the much later and inferior writer Hippolytus of Thebes. (This is evident, both from its separate publication by Schelstrate in 1690 from the Vatican Library, and from the complete edition of that legendary Chronicle itself, in Tom. III. pp. 34—40 of Basnage's *Thesaurus Monumentorum Ecclesiasticorum*, Amst. 1725. See also S. Hippolyti *Opera*, Part II. p. 47, ed. J. A. Fabricii. Hamb. 1716.) But notwithstanding passages of this kind, occurring either in the best or the least valuable of ecclesiastical writers, the stream of patristic testimony from St Justin Martyr, Tertullian and St Athanasius downward, is all but unanimous for the Davidic origin of the Virgin.

One celebrated person, Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalatro, in his treatise *de Republica Ecclesiastica*, Lib. VI. cap. i. § 6—10, broadly maintains the position, that the character of the Anointed Son of David, announced by the Prophets, descended to our Lord actually through Joseph; who, though not by nature, was by the law strictly his father: because in every case among the Israelites, the ascription of tribe and family descended from the male parent alone; and the descent, being ever valid to the offspring of the lawful wife, when no adulterous or spurious birth intervened, could not be barred in this case to the child of

But does not the perplexity arising hence, which even searches for means of wresting the Evangelist's words to find what is wanting, derive its main force from an impression, that St Luke must write like an apologist or defender of the Gospel, and consequently must give a genealogy the most apt to convince Theophilus and all other readers that our Lord was descended from David, and through him from the older patriarchs? And are not such laborious expedients at once superseded by the supposition, that the Evangelist simply meant to give the Bethlehemite genealogy of our Lord, as He was enrolled in the census of the preceding chapter, adding nothing to the genealogy thus recorded but the continuance of its ascending line, as found by the Evangelist in the Old Testament, to the first fathers of Israel, and thence to the ancestors of mankind? By this supposition, which I would contend to be the only rational one, and agreeable to the apparent spirit of this Gospel throughout, all perplexity is done away as far as St Luke's purpose is concerned, on which some writers have allowed themselves to declaim so freely⁵⁹ as decisive of the question: for the genealogical records could not, according to Jewish usage, exhibit the children, even

Joseph's legally espoused wife, by the utterly unprecedented and miraculous birth of the Saviour. Accordingly, though believing with the Fathers the Davidic descent of Mary, this writer asserts that were she even proved to be of Levi—which, he thinks, cannot be disproved from Scripture—the literal truth of our Lord's Messianic character would not be in the least affected. In this opinion he is followed by a more recent learned writer, J. Richardson, in the first of his "*Prælectiones Ecclesiasticæ xxxix habite in sacello Coll. Emmanuel. apud Cantabrigienses, Lond. 1726.*" I believe this extreme opinion erroneous in undervaluing the good evidence from Scripture for Mary's Davidic descent, merely because it is not so good as we could wish, or as many would now force from St Luke: the harshness, too, of the supposition that Christ's genealogy, if it were traced naturally through the only human parent, might differ, even in respect of tribe, from its legal ascription, is far from being alleviated or rendered probable by the merely adoptative or legal links in the recorded chain. For though there is one such in both the genealogies of Joseph, viz. that from Salathiel to Zorobabel (as has been before remarked, p. 169), beside the two peculiar to the first of them, viz. that from Jeconiah to Salathiel, and that from Jacob to Joseph himself, the denial of natural procreation in all these cases, however affecting the particular link, does not at all affect the chain on the whole. The Mosaic law of levirate or adoption even certifies that all must remount to the same natural parent at the remove of not many generations, and therefore still confirms the actual descent from David and from Judah, which the other supposition would destroy. But, relieved from that equally harsh and needless supposition, the speculation as it stands in the chief authority cited by De Dominis, viz. the *Quæst. et Respons. ad Orthodoxos* in St Justin's Works, Qu. 133, has much that is important with respect to Jewish objections against the recorded lineage of our Lord. And in truthfulness and reverence for Scripture, I cannot but conceive that it has greatly the advantage of the opposite extreme opinion of his opponent Spanheim and other anti-Africanists, who bend the sacred text to their own sense of fitness (*Dub. Ev.* Vol. II. pp. 128—136).

⁵⁹ The following passages from a writer of the last century, by no means among the least serious or careful investigators of this subject, may serve as specimens of

of an heiress, otherwise than through their father. Our difficulty therefore, in this case, is not one which concerns the human recorders of our Lord's genealogy: it relates to the *divine* dispensation exclusively, and may be comprised in the two following questions; 1. why it should have seemed good to the Divine Providence to have caused Christ's first record among the Jews, as sprung from the race and lineage of David, to have been thus in the character of the son of *Joseph*?—and 2. why it should have pleased the Holy Spirit, in directing the chosen historiographers of our Lord for the benefit of all ages of the Church, to suggest no express genealogy beside this, leaving them to describe severally the natural and the adoptional lines of this, and withholding the descent of the only true parent? Now if the former of these two points is one of which orthodox Christians do not ordinarily permit themselves to doubt the wisdom, whatever may be their insight into its reasons, should not the latter point, however inscrutable its grounds may appear, be admitted in like manner without question? It is certainly not the usual course of divine arrangements to gratify in every point what might seem even a reasonable curiosity. Nor can *necessity* be pleaded for information in the latter case with nearly so much apparent reason as in the former; seeing that the one immaculate child-bearing⁶⁰, which has removed the curse of Eve from humanity, applying to all generations of mankind alike,

the assumption alluded to. The author (who is merely contending for the Galatian gloss [note 32 *sup.*] against our own and every other authorized version of Luke iii. 23—38) says, "Can it seem necessary, in proving the Divine origin of the Messiah, to insert all these intermediates, and to trace his derivation from God through so many of the descendants of Adam? Is not this saying that he was the Son of God because he was the supposed son of Joseph: which Joseph was the son of Heli, and this Heli was in the manner set down descended from Adam, which Adam was the son of God; and that from hence it must be concluded that Jesus is the Son of God? Such argumentation were unworthy of an Evangelist, or even of any one who can lay the least claim to reason, since it is so far from distinguishing and characterizing that Jesus whose history he writes, that the same argument will prove every one of the sons and descendants of Adam to be the sons of God." Again—"If this tradition," concerning Joseph's father not being Heli, "is to be relied upon, then neither St Luke, nor any other of the sacred writers of the New Testament, have recorded the name of the father of the Virgin Mary: and consequently, they have all of them NEGLECTED to record the real and natural genealogy of our blessed Lord." (*The Genealogies of our Lord and Saviour examined, &c.* by E. Yardley, B.D. Preacher of the Chapel at Highgate, and late Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge, pp. 231, 237.) Can we wonder that infidelity was advancing in an age when this kind of judgment on the duties incumbent on New Testament writers, individually and collectively, in respect of producing their facts and pointing their arguments, was thought by Christian divines consistent, I do not say, with reverence to the Evangelists, but with common sense?

⁶⁰ Gen. iii. 15. 1 Tim. ii. 13—15.

makes the knowledge of particulars as to our Lord's descent after the flesh a matter of less moment to us, than to our Lord's immediate countrymen; seeing that to us the Virgin-born is proclaimed as reascended into heaven, and believed on among the Gentiles; while our historical faith is sufficiently provided for by the clear terms of the Divine Annunciation to St Mary, and the many other explicit assurances of the Lord's real carnal descent from David. Our inquiry is therefore in fact thrown back upon the former of these two points: the reasons of that divine œconomy which first presented the expected Son of David to the Jews his countrymen as the son of the carpenter Joseph, of David's house, rather than as the offspring of a Virgin mother.

And on this point are there not, beyond and above all difficulties, reasons so evident even to our minds at present, as to make it our best answer to the scruples whether of believers or unbelievers, not only to admit the fact, but to reassert and to glory in it? It did in truth please the Almighty, through the discretion of the blessed mother and her guardian spouse, to shroud this mystery of miraculous birth from the knowledge of every soul around; to keep close the secret (known only at the first to its highly-favoured subject, to the venerable pair to whom it was confided in the hill country of Judæa, and lastly to Joseph, as we learn from the opening chapters of the first and third Gospels) till the time arrived when alone it could be generally appreciated or understood: thus to preclude effectually all irreverent curiosity, and its yet more revolting accompaniment, calumnious falsehood; a falsehood which, when that mystery became generally notorious as Christian doctrine, and not before, burst forth with the utmost virulence from the enemies of the Son of Mary⁶¹. To the more decided forms of infidelity this is then our reply. Neither could the idea of that great mystery arise, as the rationalistic school would have it⁶², from a calumny or suspicion which itself alone engen-

⁶¹ See p. 200 *sup*.

⁶² Paulus, &c. &c.: whose forced attempts at retaining the *historical* without the *supernatural* character of the narrations in the beginning of the first and third Gospels pass necessarily into the blasphemous stories of the Jews. This is shewn, to their confusion, by the mythists Gabler and Strauss (ch. iii. § 28), to whom the necessary but disgustful task is best left. The subject is too sacred, and the hypothetical considerations too revolting, to allow our entering, without necessity, into

dered in the minds of the adversaries (and that, as it should appear, after the decease of the Virgin and her last guardian St John): nor could it have sprung up, as the new school pretends, as a pure Jewish mythus, where every thing connected with the first presentation of Christ to the Jews was so contrary⁶³: nor could its certain reception and inculcation by those whose kindred to our Lord would induce them, on all human principles, to draw their consanguinity to their Lord as close as possible, proceed from any other cause than its truth⁶⁴. And to all minor phases of objection with which this statement of the Catholic Christian truth may be met, one remarkable fact may be presented in reply: viz. that the same records which most circumstantially narrate this supernatural conception and birth, acquaint us also most distinctly with this reserve in its communication. There is no argument from silence, or presumed implication, by which it is attempted by neologists to

the pretended explications of this exploded school here: as we could afford to deal with their comparatively innocent absurdities on the birth of John the Baptist (see PP. 93, 94).

⁶³ It is impossible to read Strauss's exposition of his mythic view, in ch. iii. § 29, without seeing how insuperable he finds this objection. He revels in the instances of Hercules, the Dioscuri, Romulus, Alexander, and especially of Pythagoras and Plato: all which might have been much to his purpose, had the scene of this nativity been in Greece or Italy. But when he is recalled to Bethlehem, and has to produce a *bonâ fide* Jewish cradle for his supposed nascent mythus, his utter failure is well shewn by his winding up a long paragraph of confessedly untractable materials with saying that after all our notices of the Messianic ideas of that age are very scanty; and therefore, all unfavourable appearances notwithstanding, we may suppose a previous expectation grounded on the O. T. from the evident marks of it in the New. ("Allein bei der Mangelhaftigkeit der Nachrichten über die messianischen Ideen jener Zeit beweist diess nichts gegen die *Voraussetzung* einer Zeitvorstellung, von welcher die vollständigen Grundlagen im A. T. und eine kaum verkennbare Folge im neuen sich findet." Vol. i. pp. 233, 4.) In other words; 'permit me, from my ideas of the contents of both Testaments, to construct, without regard to historical monuments, a *hypothetical* view of the state of opinion and feeling among the people where the Virgin is said to have conceived and borne a Son: and then my mythic account of it is established.' It is indeed necessary to draw largely on imagination to supply the requisite mytho-plastic power to that singularly dull and untoward generation: by whom the oracle Is. vii. 14, if not forgotten (or misinterpreted, as by the later Jews, as though *הוּלָה* did not mean a *virgin*), was certainly allowed no prominent place in their conception of the long-desired King.

It is the peculiar difficulty of this case, and the setting up of the most anti-mythic Ebionites as primitive believers, that brings Strauss here into alliance with those Rationalists to whom he would be diametrically opposed. And it is apparently his conscious proximity to their position, which causes him to repel with such peculiar soreness (i. 234) the charge brought by Olshausen against the Mythic school, of necessarily encouraging those blasphemous suspicions respecting the sinful origin of the Christ which he had himself successfully charged upon Paulus.

⁶⁴ This will more fully appear in the following section, when the parentage of those especially who first held the apostolic see of Jerusalem will come under discussion.

prove this doctrine unknown to the rest of the New Testament, which may not be applied with exactly the same force to that portion, viz. the first two chapters of St Matthew and of St Luke severally, in which, as they confidently tell us, it is exclusively contained. If the men of Nazareth and Capernaum heard of Jesus only as the carpenter's son, the worshippers at Bethlehem are told no more: the Angel, when directing the shepherds to do homage to the Lord Christ in the stable, says nothing to them of the mother as sole parent. If the later portions of the Gospel, by their mention of mother and brethren, seem to ascribe by implication a common parentage to Jesus Christ, do not also the early chapters represent the Virgin as addressing her Son in the words, "*Thy Father and I* have sought thee sorrowing," even while pondering deeply in her heart the terms of the angelic announcement twelve years before, and comparing with them every development of her most holy Child⁶⁵? So impossible is it to conclude from mere silence, or from circumstances which taken alone might appear to imply the absence of this doctrine, that it was really unknown to the sacred writer: unless we are prepared, in defiance of every principle of criticism, to break the continuous narration of St Luke,

⁶⁵ Luke ii. 48, 51, coll. 10—19. (Note also the 33d verse, as the Vatican copy and the Græco-Latin MS. of Beza read it.) The intended reservation of this doctrine is stated by St Chrysostom in his third Homily on St Matthew, as the reason why the genealogies of Joseph only are given: and that not as his own opinion, but what was handed down from the Fathers, "admirable and distinguished men." (He had laid it down in the first Homily as a fact unquestionable though somewhat perplexing, that οὐκ ἐγενεαλογήθη ἡ παρθένος; and having in the second unfolded the more obvious cause of this, from the custom of the Jews in their genealogical records, he now repeats the question.) Τίνος ἕνεκεν ὁ Ἰωσήφ γενεαλογεῖται, οὐδὲν πρὸς τὴν γέννησιν συντελῶν; Καὶ μίαν μὲν αἰτίαν εἰρήκαμεν ἡδὴ· ἀναγκαῖον δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑτέραν εἰπεῖν τὴν μυστικωτέραν καὶ ἀπορρήτοτέραν ἐκείνης. Τίς οὖν ἔστιν αὕτη; Οὐκ ἐβούλετο τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις εἶναι δῆλον παρὰ τὸν τῶν ὠδίνων καιρὸν, ὅτι ἐκ παρθένου γεγενῆται ὁ Χριστός. Ἀλλὰ μὴ θορυβείσθε πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον τοῦ λεγομένου· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔμὸς ὁ λόγος, ἀλλὰ πατέρων ἡμετέρων θαυμαστῶν καὶ ἐπισήμων ἀνδρῶν. Εἰ γὰρ πολλὰ συνεσκίασεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, νιδὼν ἀνθρώπου καλῶν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ οὐδὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα ἰσότητά πανταχοῦ σαφῶς ἡμῖν ἐξεκάλυψε, τί θαυμάζεις εἰ καὶ τοῦτο συνεσκίασε τέως θαυμαστὸν τι καὶ μέγα οἰκονομῶν; Καὶ ποῖον θαυμαστὸν, φησὶ; τὸ διασωθῆναι τὴν παρθένον, καὶ ὑποψίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι πονηρᾶς. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γέγονε κατὰ δῆλον, κἄν κατέλευσαν τὴν παρθένον κακοιουργοῦντες τῷ λεγομένῳ, καὶ μοιχείας αὐτὴν ἔκριναν ἀν..... Ὅπου γὰρ ὁ Ἰωσήφ καὶ δίκαιος ὢν καὶ θαυμαστὸς ἀνὴρ πολλῶν ἐδεήθη ὥστε δέξασθαι τὸ γεγεννημένον, καὶ ἀγγέλου, καὶ τῆς δι' ὀνειράτων ὁψews, καὶ τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν προφητῶν μαρτυρίας, πῶς ἂν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, καὶ σκαιοὶ ὄντες καὶ διεφθαρμένοι, καὶ πολεμῖως οὕτω πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχοντες, ταύτην ἂν παρεδέξαντο τὴν ὑποσίαν;..... Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ὑπωπτώθη, οὐδ' ἂν τοῦ Δαβὶδ λοιπὸν ἐνομίσθη εἶναι υἱός. τοῦτον δὲ μὴ νομισθέντος, πολλὰ ἂν ἐτέχθη καὶ ἕτερα κακά. διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ οἱ ἀγγελοὶ ταῦτα λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ τῇ Μαρίᾳ μονῇ καὶ τῷ Ἰωσήφ διεσάφησαν· τοῖς δὲ ποιμέσιν εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸ γεγεννημένον, οὐκέτι τοῦτο προσέθηκαν.

i. 5—ii. 52, into two sets of fragments of different authorship, the one relating, the other excluding, this matter; and, in the equally continuous narrative of St Matthew, to separate the genealogy as far as the *middle* of i. 16, from the other half of the verse, and all thenceforward to ii. 23, where it is asserted or evidently implied throughout⁶⁶. Neither is this genealogy,

⁶⁶ The inseparability of this genealogy from the history of the nativity that follows it, as well as from that verse of the genealogy itself that so clearly excludes Joseph from the character of parent of Jesus, was abundant reason for those Judaical professors of Christianity who thought most carnally of the Saviour, and withstood the apostolic teaching, for striking this out of the only Gospel they admitted. Accordingly, in the corrupted and curtailed edition of St Matthew's Gospel, *νεοθενμένω καὶ ἡκρωτηριασμένω*, which the Ebionites called the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, and which the Cerinthians and Carpocratians united with them in using, as we read in Epiphanius, *Hær.* xxx. § 3, all the contents of the first and second chapters were wanting. And though it appears from § 14, that Cerinthus and Carpocrates, while using the very same mutilated Gospel, would yet avail themselves of the genealogy of Joseph in the genuine St Matthew to prove their favourite dogma of Jesus being born as other men, he says that the Ebionites had somewhat different thoughts or purposes (*ἄλλα τιὰ διανοοῦνται*) respecting that genealogy, which they persisted in wholly repudiating. Now if we strained these Greek words beyond their proper import to mean, as Strauss would desire, an entire opposition of theological sentiment between the new Ebionites and their old Cerinthian allies as to the miraculous conception, even thus his position is unproved and improbable as ever,—that the old Ebionites were the authors of the genealogy both in this Gospel of St Matthew, and in that (by them abhorred) of St Paul's companion. We could even concede that (through the singular tendency of heresy, when strongly opposed to an intermediate truth, to join hands with its extreme opposite), the Ebionites might, under the guidance of their new Gnostic teacher, Elxæus, be led to some objections to the genealogies the most contrary to those they before entertained, viz. an Encratite horror of David and other patriarchs, or even that heathenish notion respecting the purely celestial origin of the Christ (conceived by them in consequence as distinct from the man Jesus), which led the Marcionites (enemies of the manhood altogether) to expunge the genealogy from their mutilated St Luke. But we are still far as ever from the Straussian position; which is that the older Ebionite gospel actually contained the genealogy, and that the Cerinthians continued to read it *there*, when the new Ebionites, under Essene teaching, had struck it out. The passage of Epiphanius, which is the only semblance of documentary evidence for that position, contains no such thing, but the contrary. 'Ο μὲν γὰρ Κήρυθος καὶ Καρποκράς τῷ αὐτῷ χρώμενοι δῆθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς εὐαγγελίῳ, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίου διὰ τῆς γενεαλογίας βούλονται παριστᾶν ἐκ σπέρματος Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν· οὗτοι δὲ ἄλλα τιὰ διανοοῦνται. παρακόψαντες γὰρ τὰς παρὰ τῷ Ματθαίῳ γενεαλογίας, ἀρχονται τὴν ἀρχὴν ποιῆσαι, ὡς προεῖπον, λέγοντες, ὅτι Ἐγένετο, φησιν, ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις Ἡρώδου βασιλέως τῆς Ἰουδαίας, ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Καϊάφα, ἡλθέ τις Ἰωάννης ὄνματι βαπτίζων βάπτισμα μετανόας ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ Ἰορδάνῃ καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ βούλονται λόγον μὲν Ἰησοῦν ὄντως ἄνθρωπον εἶναι, ὡς προεῖπον, Χριστὸν δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ γεγενῆσθαι τὸν ἐν εἵδει περιστερᾶς καταβεβηκότα, καθάπερ ἦδη καὶ παρ' ἄλλαις αἱρέσεσιν εὐρίσκομεν συναφθέντα αὐτῷ, καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸν τὸν Χριστὸν (Ἰησοῦν;) ἐκ σπέρματος ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς γεγεννημένον. Πάλιν δὲ ἀρνούνται εἶναι αὐτὸν ἄνθρωπον δῆθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου οὐ εἰσηκεν ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐν τῷ ἀναγγελλῆναι αὐτὸν ὅτι Ἰδοὺ ἡ μήτηρ σου καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοί σου ἔξω ἐσθήκασιν, ὅτι τίς ἐστι μήτηρ μου, κ.τ.λ. (Matt. xii. 47—50)...Ἐντεῦθεν, ὡς ἔφην, τῆς πάσης κυβείας μεμεστωμένος ὁ Ἐβλιὼν διὰ πολλῶν μορφῶν ὑποφαίνει ἑαυτὸν, ὡς εἶναι τεράστιον κατὰ τὰ ἄνω μοι προδεδηλωμένα. Epiphanius. *Hær.* xxx. § 14. *Opp.* Tom. i. pp. 138, 9. ed. Petav. Thus, notwithstanding the "multiform" and "monstrously" contradictory notions introduced into their creed, the Ebionites still continued their gross assertion of the

therefore, of the husband of Mary, which we find in the first

ordinary generation of Jesus, and only differed from Cerinthus and Carpocrates in declining to use as a proof of it the genealogy of Joseph in the genuine St Matthew: which is also distinguished from the corrupted Gospel used by *all* these heretics. And this overturns the argument from the first part of this passage, drawn by Strauss, Vol. I. p. 221.

This testimony of Epiphanius should be compared with what he says elsewhere in his account of the Cerinthians. *Hæret. xxxviii. cap. v. (Opp. Tom. I. p. 113.)* *Χρῶνται γὰρ τῷ κατὰ Ματθαῖον εὐαγγελίῳ ἀπὸ μέρους καὶ οὐχὶ ὅλῳ, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν γενεαλογίαν τὴν ἑνσαρκον.* That there is nothing strange or incredible in the circumstance of these Cerinthians making use of a Scripture testimony that was not in their own Gospel, we may learn from another remarkable fact concerning them: viz. that notwithstanding their intense abhorrence of St Paul as the decier of circumcision and of justification by the Law, which, as we learn from that chapter of Epiphanius, characterized them particularly, in common with all that Judaical class of heretics, they were yet very willing to avail themselves of his supposed testimony in 1 Cor. xv. 29, to support their practice of baptizing for the dead; as we learn from the same Father, *ibid. cap. vi. p. 114.*

Moreover, it is most remarkable, that in the very points which Strauss would have to be peculiar to the later Ebionites or Elxaites, and to have produced a *new* distaste for the genealogy which their former allies approved, they were, on the contrary, entirely agreed with that ancient heresiarch, the abhorred of St John, Cerinthus. Such is the notion that the real mother of Christ was the Holy Ghost that generated him in baptism, and to whom in their gospel (that according to the *Hebrews*) the words, Matt. iii. 17, are ascribed, as we learn from St Jerome. "Porro in Evangelio cuius supra fecimus mentionem hæc scripta reperimus: *Factum est autem cum ascendisset Dominus de aqua, descendit fons omnis Spiritus Sancti et requievit super eum et dixit illi: FILI MI, IN OMNIBUS PROPHETIS EXPECTABAM TE UT VENIRES ET REQUIESCEREM IN TE: TU ES ENIM REQUIES MEA, TU ES FILIUS MEUS PRIMOGENITUS QUI REGNAS IN SEMPERNUM*" (Hieron. in *Es. xi. 2*). Hence also the strange passage from the same corrupt Gospel, making our Lord say, "My Mother the Holy Ghost took me by a hair of my head and bore me to the great mount Thabor" (Ἐλαβέ με ἡ μήτηρ μου τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα ἐν μῇ τῶν τριχῶν μου καὶ ἀπένεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ μέγα Θαβώρ), which we find twice quoted by Origen, *Hom. xv. in Jeremiam*, and again in his *Commentary on St John* [Tom. II. p. 64. ed. Ben.], and twice also by St Jerome on *Is. xl. 11*, and on *Micah vii. 6*, where he accounts for it by the feminine gender of the Hebrew מְיָרָה; (Origen also justifying it in somewhat of the style of those sectaries themselves, from our Lord's words above cited in Matt. xii.). All ancient testimonies* respecting the Cerinthians ascribe to them also this notion of the purely celestial progeniture of the Christ; which they held conjointly with the belief of the grossly carnal origin of Jesus from Joseph and Mary. And it is against the heretical poison of both these assertions (the one denying the assumed humanity of the Word, the other the divinity of the actual Saviour), as well as against the anticipatory Nestorianism of their conjunction, that the Catholic Creeds were directed: "Who was incarnate by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary."

The Encratite Tatian, in constructing his *Diatessaron* from all the Evangelists (a work which several Catholics admitted into use, from not suspecting its object, and of which Theodoret expelled more than 200 copies from several Churches, replacing them by the actual four Gospels), studiously omitted the genealogies and everything that spoke of the Lord's carnal descent from David: *Τὸ διὰ τεσσάρων καλούμενον συντίθεικεν εὐαγγέλιον, τὰς τε γενεαλογίας περικόψας, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ κατὰ σάρκα γεγεννημένον τὸν Κύριον δεικνύσιν, &c.* (Theodoret. *Hæret. Fab. Compend. Lib. I. cap. xx. Tom. IV. p. 312. ed. Schulze.*) There were some, as we learn from Epiphanius. *Hæret. XLVI. § 1*, who confounded Tatian's *Diatessaron* with the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*: but this was a mistake, probably arising from the Ebionite Gospel being ever distinguished by the rejection of the genealogies.

* Irenæus, *adv. Hæreses*, Lib. I. cap. xxv. Lib. III. cap. xi. (pp. 102, 218. ed. Grabe). Theodoret. *Hæret. Fab. Compend. Lib. II. cap. iii. (iv. 329).* Epiphanius. *Hæret. XXXVIII. § 1. (I. 110.)*

Evangelist, nor that in St Luke's third chapter, inconsistent in any degree with the reception of the great fact told at the outset by both. The inconsistency is only in the minds of persons who gratuitously impute views of their own to those holy writers; and who, while they do this, are insensible to that discipline of reserve, with which the Divine wisdom meets the necessities of man, in every dispensation of new and strange truth to mankind.

SECTION III.

THE RECORD OF THE BROTHERHOOD OF JESUS IN THE GOSPELS IS IN NO RESPECT INCONSISTENT WITH THE HISTORY OF HIS OWN MIRACULOUS AND EXTRAORDINARY BIRTH.

THE subject of our Lord's genealogical descent is intimately connected with that of the persons whom all the four Evangelists term his brethren: on whose actual relation to Mary and to Joseph I would now propose some observations. Though a question not altogether without obscurity, I hope to show that the difficulties are by no means so inextricable, as Strauss, with even more than his usual desire of entanglement, has laboured to represent them: and that while, of two approved ways of settling the question, one is far less satisfactory in its attestation, and less consistent with historical probability than the other, no just suspicion of mythic formation attaches in any way to the evangelic accounts of Christ's nativity, or the doctrines of Catholic Christianity.

Of the notices of these singularly favoured persons in the New Testament, the most complete is that in the Gospels of St Matthew and St Mark, where the people of Nazareth, the earliest and the nearest witnesses of all that concerned the immediate family of our Lord, exclaim, on first hearing his public announcement of himself in their synagogue, "*Whence hath this man this wisdom and these mighty works? Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary (Mariam)? and his brethren James (Jacob) and Joses and Simon and Judas? And his sisters, are they not all with us? Whence then hath this man all these things*¹?" Another

¹ Matt. xiii. 54, 55, 56. The expressions in the second Gospel are equivalent, except for the total omission of the name of Joseph (who by St Mark alone is ever unmentioned), and the description of our Lord as having himself exercised the trade of his reputed father. "*Is not this the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of*

most remarkable mention occurs in all the first three Gospels, where the mother and the brethren of Jesus, pressing for admission to him while addressing a thronged assembly, drew forth the memorable observation, that the character of his mother and brethren attaches to those who hear and obey his words². The remaining Gospel of St John tells how, before this, Jesus, with his mother, his brethren, and disciples, had removed from Nazareth to Capernaum³: and also how, on the feast of Tabernacles that preceded his last Passover, his brethren, though impatient for a public display of his power and claims at Jerusalem, evinced at the same time their want of faith in him⁴. Again, it is recorded by St Luke in the Acts that, during the ten days' interval between the Lord's Ascension and the feast of Pentecost, the eleven Apostles continued unanimous in prayer and supplication, "with the women and *with Mary the mother of Jesus and with his brethren*"⁵. And St Paul speaks of *the brethren of the Lord* in conjunction with Cephas or St Peter, as persons whose conduct had the authority of a precedent in the Church of Christ⁶.

The conclusion which many in the most recent times⁷ have thought deducible from these notices of the sacred writers, is that which was drawn by those called Antidicomarianites, Bonosus of Sardica, Helvidius, &c. in former ages of the Church,

James and Joses, and of Juda and Simon? And are not his sisters here with us?" Mark vi. 2, 3. On the contrary, St Luke's account of what is, I think, unquestionably the same murmur of our Lord's townsmen, is merely, "*Is not this the son of Joseph?*" Luke iv. 22.

² Matt. xii. 46—50; Mark iii. 31—35; Luke viii. 19—21.

³ John ii. 12.

⁴ John vii. 3—10.

⁵ Acts i. 13, 14.

⁶ 1 Cor. ix. 5.

⁷ Niemeyer, Pott, Eichhorn, &c.; together with a more recent writer in Holland, who has discussed the question with much learning and ability, but with strong prepossession, viz. A. H. Blom, *Disputatio Theologica de τοις 'Αδελφοις et ταῖς 'Αδελφαῖς τοῦ Κυρίου*. Lugd. Bat. 1839. A name more celebrated in general literature had preceded on the same side: viz. that of J. G. Herder, prefixed to *Briefe zweier Brüder Jesu in unserm Kanon*. The following is Herder's reasoning on the first cited passage in Matt. xii.: "*Fände man irgendwo jemanden den Vorwurf gemacht—Ist er nicht ein Zimmermans Sohn? heisst nicht seine Mutter Maria? und seine Brüder Jakob und Joses und Simon und Judas? und seine Schwestern, sind sie nicht alle bei uns?...Was würde, was könnte man denken, als dass diese Leute ihn, dem sie den Vorwurf machen, wirklich für des Zimmermans Sohn halten, und so wahr sie eine leibliche Mutter, Maria, sie auch leibliche Brüder und Schwestern meinen?...Und sind die, die ihm den Vorwurf machen, seine Landsleute,—die, ob er noch mehr Geschwister habe, wissen konnten,—die ihn und sie alle von Kind auf gekannt, ihre Auferziehung gesehen hatten, so gut, wie sie auch seine Herkunft wussten,—wie konnte man ihnen so etwas ablägnen?*" (This ingenious author professes at the same time his belief that Jesus was not the carpenter's son himself, nor so born of Joseph and Mary as he would fain prove all the others to have been.)

viz. that these brethren and sisters of the Lord were the younger children of Joseph and Mary. Allowing to the utmost, they observe, the possible extension of the term *brother* in Judæo-Hellenistic or other Oriental usage to any near kindred, there is every thing to fix it to its most strict and proper meaning here. The repeated mention of the mother, the confessed natural mother of Jesus, in connexion with them, forbids indeed our extension of one term more than the other: nor could any one fail to recognize in these several statements the literal and natural brethren of our Lord, the children of the same mother, except for the ideas that soon after sprang up in the Church, respecting the merit of virginity, the comparative impurity of conjugal relations, and the consequent impiety and heresy of imputing them, at any period of her life, to the virgin mother of our Lord⁸. Now without prejudging the question, I would observe, merely with reference to this last consideration, (involving a prepossession just as strong and unreasoning as that which it zealously opposes,) and for the sake of those who are *on that account* inclined to abet, as most reasonable, the argument just stated, that its persuasive force by no means ceases at the point where Lutherans and Calvinists would wish to stop,—the making these persons children of our Lord's mother. It aims beyond the mark of the Helvidian conclusion, at no less than that of the grosser section of the Ebionites⁹, viz. that Jesus was in the same manner her son, as all the rest are supposed to have been; that they were just like any other family of mother and brethren. And it is obvious that any one who refuses entire acquiescence in the apparent force of these passages, i. e. who departs from the Jewish point of view in any respect, by attributing to Jesus the prerogative of a peculiar birth, or any thing beyond the character of first-born and highest in wisdom, becomes obnoxious to exactly the same censure and sneer from the consistent follower of the argument,

⁸ See the above work of Blom, pp. 40—47, p. 102 seq. &c.; also Strauss, Vol. I. pp. 251—256.

⁹ Origen, *adv. Cels.* Lib. v. p. 272, ed. Spenc. "Ἐστῶσαν δὲ τινες καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἀποδεχόμενοι, ὡς παρὰ τοῦτο Χριστιανοὶ εἶναι αὐχοῦντες· ἐτι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν Ἰουδαίων νόμον ὡς τὰ Ἰουδαίων πλήθη βιοῦν ἐθέλοντες· οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ διττοὶ Ἐβιωναῖοι, ἧτοι ἐκ παρθένου ὁμολογοῦντες ὁμοίως ἡμῖν τὸν Ἰησοῦν, ἢ οὐχ οὕτω γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλ' ὡς τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀνθρώπους. Both these sections of Ebionites, the orthodox as to the miraculous conception, as well as the others, (in other words, the Nazarenes and the proper Ebionites), united with the Encratites in rejecting the writings of the Apostle of the Gentiles; and are termed heretics by Origen. *Ib.* p. 274.

as that which he himself perhaps bestows on the man who would hesitate to admit the common maternity of Mary to them all. If then happily restrained by the authority of the opening chapters of St Matthew and St Luke from following the Socinians in this view of the family at Nazareth, let such at least allow the possibility of seeing reason in Scripture, equally decided and historical, for questioning this *nearest* brotherhood altogether.

We would meet the argument strictly on its own merits. As Jesus was unquestionably, in the view of the men of Nazareth, the son of the carpenter and of Mary¹⁰, such also, had we nothing but this speech of theirs on which to found our judgment, should we have thought to be their view of the parentage of the four named brethren, and the unnamed sisters at least equally numerous (since the term *πᾶσαι* *all* is applied to them): and consequently, with regard to all besides Jesus in this large number, we might have thought that their view expressed the actual truth. Still there would be no certainty in either conclusion. And however we might acquiesce in it on the principle that words are to be taken in their strictest literal import, when there is no apparent reason to take them otherwise, the possibility would still remain that these might be children of some near relative of Mary, probably forming part of her household at Nazareth: whose title of brethren, given them in accordance with Hebrew usage¹¹, would not prejudice the literal truth of the name *mother* as applied to Mary with respect to Jesus. The admissibility, of course, of such a hypothesis depends entirely on circumstances to be hereafter taken into account. Were we confined to the consideration of the passages last quoted, as this supposition would appear improbable, so also would the opinion of the Helvidian reasoners whose views have been detailed. The speech of the Nazarenes might even induce us to exclude, as inadmissible, the hypothesis of these eight or nine brothers and

¹⁰ John i. 45, vi. 42. The speech of Philip, as well as of the men of Capernaum, attests this as the general belief in Galilee at this time. Cf. p. 215 *sup*.

¹¹ This is proved by the usually alleged instances of Abram and Lot in Gen. xiv. 14; of Laban and Jacob, xxix. 12; of Job's brethren and sisters, i.e. his kinsmen and kinswomen, Job xlii. 11; of Tobias and Sara, Tob. viii. 4; and the more comprehensive and decisive statement of Lev. xxv. 48, 49; beside the corresponding use of the term among the Arabs, as well as the more eastern nations, and the classical instances collected by Suicer and Schleusner *in voc*.

sisters being *all* younger than Jesus. For are they not alluded to as persons from whom, as from his father and mother, instruction might be expected to proceed, had they been capable of affording it: the known inability of his elders to furnish this most naturally suggesting the question, "*whence* hath this man, the youth whom we remember in their household before entering into life, this wisdom and this power¹²?" The same conclusion might also be impressed on us by the other incident, as told especially by St Mark; where the brethren, in their eagerness to obtain admission through the throng, appear actuated by a desire to check what seemed to them irrational excesses in our Lord, and recal him to the ordinary engagements of life, by a species of forcible coercion more befitting the character of seniors¹³, than of younger brothers towards one to whom they had been accustomed to look up with deference, the known *πρωτότοκος*, or first-born of his mother¹⁴. But it is idle to confine ourselves to those passages: let us see what light the subsequent period of the evangelic history throws on the character of the individual brethren.

Amongst these brethren there is one, viz. James (*Ἰάκωβος*), to whom a peculiar eminence is attached in after times. "Other Apostles (besides Peter) saw I none," says St Paul when describing one of his visits to Jerusalem, "save *James the*

¹² This consideration, connected with the analogous question of the Jews in John vii. 15, is very ingeniously pursued in a dissertation entitled *Neue Forschungen über den Brief des Jakobus, und insbesondere über die Brüder Jesu, von Dr Schleyer*" (in the *Zeitschrift für Theologie*, Vol. iv. Friburg, 1840), pp. 85—89.

¹³ See Mark iii. 21, where the *οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ* or relatives of Jesus, *ܐܬܬܝܠܐܝܝܢ* Syr. Pesh. (who, hearing that the confluence of the multitude to him was such as to make it impossible even to take food, hurried from home to stay even by a friendly seizure what appeared such an ecstasy of enthusiasm), are obviously the same with those who, after the discourse of vv. 22—30, reach the house, and press for admittance: the holy mother, though not partaking the contemptuous feelings of the "brethren," joining in the wish to withdraw her son from such inconvenient concourse. As this immediately followed the calling of the Apostles, James and Jude were most probably among the company to whom the words, vv. 34, 35, were addressed: while Jesus, and perhaps Simon, with some sisters, stood without with the Virgin. The words, as Chrysostom has remarked, are well adapted to rebuke the infidelity and presumption that mixed itself with these last brethren's solicitude on his behalf, as they did afterwards (John vii. 3, 4, 5) with the same persons' desire of his fame and aggrandizement as a prophet. *Hom. XLV. in Matt.*

¹⁴ Matt. i. 25; Luke ii. 7, 22, 23: the word in the last place, and equally in all, being applicable to every one "that openeth the womb" (Exod. xiii. 2), and therefore to a single child, as well as to a merely firstborn followed by others. The following verses of that chapter of St Luke to the end are as much opposed as silence could make them to the succeeding births of four brothers and four or more sisters, until Jesus was twelve years old and afterwards. But there are more stringent arguments behind than this proverbially unsafe one from mere silence.

*Lord's Brother*¹⁵." From him others are denominated, even though themselves distinguished persons. So it was even with the Judas of the number above enumerated, though the confessed author, like his brother, of one of the books of the New Testament, and like him intimately related to his Lord. Not only is he thus denominated (Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου) in the Gospel, to distinguish him from the traitor of the same name, but in the subsequent history, where there was no such reason; and by himself also in the exordium of his Epistle, "*Judas, servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James*"¹⁶." The reason why James is so distinguished, and why the name taken alone in the New Testament almost always (*i. e.* always without some special circumstance determining otherwise) denotes him¹⁷, and not the greater Apostle St James the son of Zebedee and brother of St John, appears from Christian history confessed on all hands. Not only did he long survive the other James (the first martyred Apostle¹⁸), but as first bishop of Jerusalem, the then metropolis of Christendom, he was in the most conspicuous position in the early Church. Hence the special mention of him on that occasion by St Paul as one of the "pillars" of the Church, in conjunction with St Peter and St John. Hence also we find him summing up the discussion in the first Council of the Apostles, respecting the obligation of the Mosaic law upon Christians, and not only presiding on several occasions among the brethren at the holy city, but in his Epistle addressing with authority all the Hebrew Christians of the dispersion¹⁹. Not only among these and other Christians, whose most ancient liturgy in the East is referred to him as its author²⁰, but amongst the unbelieving Jews also, the fame of his sanctity and regard to the law was such that, when a tumult excited by the

¹⁵ Gal. i. 19. "Ἐτερον δὲ τῶν Ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου.

¹⁶ Luke vi. 16; Acts i. 13; Jude i. (Ἰούδας, Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ δοῦλος, ἀδελφὸς δὲ Ἰακώβου, τοῖς ἐν Θεῷ πατρὶ ἡγιασμένοις, κ. τ. λ.)

¹⁷ As e.g. in the capital instance of 1 Cor. xv. 7, which the common consent of Fathers interprets not of St James the Great, but of this brother of our Lord. The correctness of the interpretation cannot be doubted by any one who compares the other passages of St Paul and St Luke, referred to in note 19. (See also note 36 inf.)

¹⁸ Acts xii. 2.

¹⁹ Acts xv. 6, 7, 12, 13—22; Gal. i. 19, and ii. 9. (Ἰάκωβος καὶ Κηφᾶς καὶ Ἰωάννης, οἱ δοκοῦντες στυλοὶ εἶναι, δεξιὰς ἔδωκαν ἐμοὶ καὶ Βαρνάβαν κοινωνίας.) See also Acts xii. 17, and xxi. 17, 18 seq., and Gal. ii. 12. and James i. 1.

²⁰ Canon 32. Conc. sext. in Trullo, *ap.* Bevereg. *Pandectt.* Tom. i. p. 192, &c. &c.

enemies of the faith of Christ caused his violent death, it was reckoned among the crimes that provoked the divine judgment and desolation that soon after befel Jerusalem²¹. Making therefore the celebrity of this James, the brother of our Lord, *i. e.* of St James the Just of Jerusalem (his well-known ecclesiastical designation), the basis of our investigation,—*i. e.* assuming it as a principle, that the name James used alone, as the name of a known person by the sacred writers, and especially when used to designate some other person by relation to him, must denote this brother of our Lord and no other (where he who was alone more eminent, St James the Great, is plainly excluded),—we may find a clue for guiding us from the obscurity of the preceding passages to a clearer perception of his genealogical position, and that of the other brethren.

The same two Gospels which, in the speech of the Nazarenes, give us the names of James and Joses, with Simon and Judas, as brethren of Jesus, tell us also that among the pious women who witnessed the crucifixion, having accompanied our Lord from Galilee, were Salome the wife of Zebedee, Mary of Magdala, and *Mary the mother of James and Joses*; that these two last, viz. “Mary Magdalene and *the other Mary*,” carefully marked on that sad evening the spot of burial, and all the three approached the holy sepulchre with ointments on the Easter morn. These are St Matthew’s expressions respecting this new Mary; St Mark, when relating the same things, using in the first instance the phrase “*Mary the mother of James the Less* (Ἰακώβου τοῦ μικροῦ) and Joses,” to distinguish the former from James the Great the son of Zebedee and Salome; and in the last two instances, instead of “the other Mary,” calling her severally *the mother of Joses* (Μαρία Ἰωσῆ), and *the mother of James* (Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Ἰακώβου). And who was this “other Mary,” the companion of Mary Magdalene at Calvary, we learn

²¹ See the remarkable extract from Hegesippus in Euseb. *H. E.* Lib. III. cap. 23; in which, though there is probably much exaggeration, the charge of total fabulousness, brought by Scaliger, &c., has been repelled by Petav. in Epiphani. *Hær.* 78. Tom. II. p. 332, and other more recent writers. (See Heinichen in Euseb. *H. E.* Tom. I. p. 166 seq.; Routh, *Rel. Sac.* Tom. I. p. 213 seq.) See also the passage of Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.* Lib. XX. cap. 8), giving a somewhat different account of St James’s death; the genuineness of which has been much questioned. (Lardner’s *Works*, Vol. VII. p. 129 seq. Origen, *adv. Cels.* Lib. I. p. 35, ed. Spenc.) St James is also most probably the *Jacob of the town of Shecaniah* (in Galilee) who is mentioned in the Talmud in several places as a disciple of Jesu the son of Pandera: as will be shewn in Appendix F.

distinctly from one who was there present with them; and who also tells us that, not content with beholding from afar the scene of suffering, these same two Mariæ, towards the close, were with the afflicted mother herself, and the writer, at the foot of the Cross. From St John, the witness referred to, we learn that the Mary in question was the *sister* of that most honoured person whom she then accompanied, and whose name she bore; and that she was either the wife (as it is most generally understood), or else the daughter, of *Clopas*; ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ. Lastly, she is associated with Mary Magdalene after the resurrection by St Luke also; by whom, as by St Mark, she is called “the mother of *James*” (Μαρία Ἰακώβου). Proceeding therefore on the principle already mentioned with respect to this last distinguished name, have we not here the amplest proof that we could desire, from the testimony of all the Gospels taken together²², that *the mother of St James the Just and his brother Joses was not the blessed Virgin Mary, but her sister of the same name?* The domiciliation of either sister, when a widow, in the other’s house at Nazareth, on the decease of Joseph or of Clopas, so that the children of both would thenceforth form but one household, is therefore a most conceivable and probable event; still more if, as the ancient Judæo-Christian historian, Hegesippus, positively testifies, those husbands of the sisters were themselves brothers²³. The occasion for the mention of this is supplied to the historian by Simon or Symeon (שמעון), the son of Clopas, who on the martyrdom of St James the Just became the second Bishop of Jerusalem, being, like him, a cousin of our Lord, his father

²² See Matt. xxvii. 56, 61, xxviii. 1, comparing the three places respectively with Mark xv. 40, 47, xvi. 1: comparing also John xix. 25, with the *first* place of each of the two series, and Luke xxiv. 10, with the *last*.

²³ After the martyrdom of St James the Just, Eusebius tells us that the Hierosolymite Christians, among whom were many of the Lord’s kindred, looked for a worthy successor. . . . καὶ δὴ ἀπὸ μιᾶς γνώμης τοὺς πάντας Συμειῶνα τὸν τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, οὗ καὶ ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου μνημονεύει γραφή, τοῦ τῆς αὐτόθι παροικίας θρόνου ἄξιον εἶναι δοκιμάσαι, ἀνεψιών, ὡς γε φασί, γεγονότα τοῦ Σωτῆρος. Τὸν γὰρ οὖν Κλωπᾶν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ὑπάρχειν Ἡγήσιππος ἱστορεῖ. *Hist. Ecc. Lib. iii. cap. 11*. See also Epiphanius, *Hæc.* 78, Tom. i. p. 1039, *ed. Petav.* Ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἀδελφὸς γίνεταί τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, ᾧ δὲ υἱὸς τοῦ Ἰακώβ, ἐπὶ κληρὸν δὲ Πάνθηρ καλουμένου· ἀμφοτέρω οὗτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πάνθηρος ἐπὶ κληρὸν γεννῶνται. The marriage of two brothers to two sisters appears to have been no uncommon case among the Hebrews. (See Surenhusii *Mischna*, Tom. iii. pp. 9, 12, 44; Michaelis, *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, Articles cx.—cxviii. Vol. ii. pp. 82—122, English translation.) Nor is the circumstance of the two Mariæ bearing the same name destructive of the notion of even their strictest sisterhood: of which the family of the Herods, abounding with cognominal brothers, is sufficient proof.

being "mentioned in the Gospel" (viz. in John xix. 25). Now even if Symeon were a son of Clopas by a former wife, and this were likewise the case with his yet more eminent brother Jude, they were still sufficiently near to Jesus to be termed *brethren* in Matt. xiii. 55, and Mark vi. 3: while James and Josès, the declared children of Mary the wife of Clopas and sister of our Lord's mother, would stand in the most intimate natural relation to Him.

The conclusion to which a positive testimony has thus conducted us would have been reached, as far as the negation of strict brotherhood is concerned, by two independent lines of argument, equally irrefragable, from Scripture. 1. We have seen St Paul's testimony to our Lord's brother, St James, as an *Apostle*, and a *pillar* among Apostles co-ordinately with St Peter and St John; which could not be, unless he were either of the original Apostolic College, or else extraordinarily called, as we read of St Paul alone, by the same Lord that chose the twelve, to a footing of equality with them: and if any thing were wanting to the proof of this fact, we should have it in the authoritative decision pronounced by him in the Apostolical Council at Jerusalem²⁴. Now in the list of the chosen Apostles, as given severally by St Matthew, St Mark, and St Luke, we read after St James Boanerges the son of Zebedee but one other James, viz. *James the son of Alphæus*: whose name is in the last-named sacred historian's list followed by Simon Zelotes, and *Judas the brother of James*; but, in the two other Gospels by the names of the same Apostles rather differently exhibited, without reference to the relationship, and in an inverted order, viz. Lebbæus or Thaddæus and Simon Cananites²⁵. Now we may lay it down as certain, that he whom St Matthew and St Luke call the son of Alphæus cannot be the son of Joseph, of whom their opening chapters are full: the notion of our Lord's brother being such, and still more, that of his being the son of Joseph and Mary, is therefore at once refuted. But is

²⁴ See the passages in notes 19 and 36. Of one who thus more than succeeded to the place of St James the Great among the first three,—who even takes precedence of the other two, the "Rock" and "the beloved disciple,"—it is surely most incongruous to suppose, with the pseudo-Apostolical Constitutions, that, instead of being what St Paul calls him, an Apostle, he was of a rank lower than the twelve: admitted as a supplementary apostle from the number of the Seventy.

²⁵ Compare Luke vi. 15, 16, and Acts i. 13, with Mark iii. 18, and Matt. x. 3, 4.

there any obstacle to his being accounted (what this argument compels us to esteem him) the son of the blessed Virgin's *sister* Mary? Certainly none; if either we conceive Alphæus and Clopas to have been successive husbands of this Mary,—or one the husband, the other the father—or, what is more probable, both the same husband: 'Αλφαῖος and Κλωπᾶς being indeed not so much as different names of that person, but only different ways (both agreeable to ordinary usage) of representing in European letters one and the same Aramæan name²⁶ ܐܠܦܐܝܐ or ܟܠܘܦܐ. For it is to be observed that the form *Clopas* is peculiar to St John²⁷, who on the other hand never uses the

²⁶ That *Alphæus* and *Clopas* should be Hellenic exhibitions of one and the same Syriac name is not more strange than that, in the far less dissimilar languages of Southern and Northern Europe, *Aloysius* and *Ludovicus* should be both recognized Latin representatives of the same Franco-Teutonic name Louis or Ludwig. This name, in the founder of the Frankish monarchy, is written *Clodoveus* or *Clovis*: in succeeding ages of that monarchy the hard aspiration of the initial Gothic letter was more mildly represented by the guttural *Chlodovicus*, then by *Hludovicus* or *Hlouis*, till even the aspirate was dropped, and in Spain and Italy the first-named depravation of the name was adopted; the two extremes, *Clovis* and *Aloysius*, bearing a certain inexact analogy to our *Clopas* and *Alphæus*. Here there is a peculiarly aspirated letter, the Heth, holding an intermediate place between a mere *spiritus* and a guttural letter, which in one and the same name, e.g. ܠܗܢܢܝܐ (Hhananiah), is variously represented by *Xavrias* or 'Αvarias in Greek. For though in the Arabic there are two forms of this letter corresponding to these several representations, viz. the dotted and undotted ܚ, no such precise distinction is made in the other Semitic languages, whether Hebrew or Aramæan: in these the pronunciation seems accordingly to have been indeterminate.

E. L. Vriemoet (in Lib. I. cap. 13, *Observationum Miscellanearum*, Leovard. 1740) ably illustrates some doubtful points in the history of St James the Just, whose identity with the son of Alphæus he truly defends against Basnage and others. He would find a third and somewhat inverted form of this patronymic name in *Oblias*, the name which, according to Hegesippus, was commonly given to the holy Bishop by the Jews. But this will hardly consist with the interpretation of the name by Hegesippus himself, ἐκαλεῖτο Δίκαιος καὶ Ὡβλίαν ὃ ἐστὶν Ἑλληνιστὶ Περιοχὴ τοῦ λαοῦ [Euseb. *H. E.* Lib. II. 23], viz. ܐܦܠܐܝܐ, and by Epiphanius, Tom. I. p. 1039—Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἐπικληθέντα Ὡβλίαν, ἐρμηνευόμενον τεῖχος, καὶ Δίκαιον ἐπικληθέντα: Ophel ܐܦܠܐ being the name of the southern part of mount Moriah, bounding the temple on that side, and mystically exhibiting the character of the just man, as the fortress and defence of his people.

²⁷ It may be thought that this assertion is incorrect, because St Luke has in one place (xxiv. 18) the name *Cleopas*, though attached to a different person, viz. one of the two disciples whom the risen Lord joined on the walk to Emmaus: and therefore he at least would not exhibit the same name belonging to the Virgin's brother-in-law in so different a form as *Alphæus*, but express it as St John does. But this is a mistake arising from the confusion of two totally different names. That disciple's name Κλέπας is a Hellenistic one, contracted from Κλέπατρος after the manner of the Judæo-Alexandrine dialect, in the same manner as Ἀντίπας from Ἀντίπατρος, Καρποκράτης from Καρποκράτης, &c.; and Schleusner and others are not correct in stating it to be only another form of the Syriac name Κλωπᾶς ܟܠܘܦܐ. The N. T. and the oldest Greek fathers, as we have seen in the citations from Eusebius and Epiphanius, never confound these two names; though our version has followed the Vulgate (and the Coptic) in so doing, i.e. in calling the

form employed by the other three evangelists to denote this and perhaps one other person of the same name²⁸. This identification, to which the collation of the sacred text has conducted the critics of these later ages, was not unknown as a matter of tradition to the earliest. We find, in a fragment bearing (and in the opinion of good judges truly bearing) the name of Papias of Hierapolis, a disciple of Apostles and of apostolic men²⁹, that "*Mary the wife of Cleophas or Alphæus was the mother of James Bishop and Apostle, and of Symon and Thaddæus (or Jude) and a certain Joseph*" (i. e. Joses; distinguishing by this kind of mention the only one of the four who was not celebrated in subsequent Christian history): also that "James and Jude and Joseph (or Joses) were the sons of the maternal aunt of the Lord;" and again stating that "Mary the mother of James the Less and wife of Alphæus was the sister of Mary the Lord's mother:" a doubt being appended here whether St John calling her ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ may not have intended to denote her father, or kindred, or another husband: for the identity of the names in Syriac would not approve itself by its own evidence to the Phrygian bishop³⁰. But what-

husband of the Mary in Joh. xix. 25, *Cleophas*. This distinction of the two names, as well as the identity of Κλωπᾶς and Ἀλφᾱῖος, is allowed by Blom, p. 63, though he is far from admitting our conclusion.

²⁸ Namely, the father of Levi the publican in Mark ii. 14, in other words, of St Matthew; whose identity with Levi appears from comparing his account of his own conversion, Matt. ix. 9 seq., with the above place of St Mark, and Luke v. 27 seq. Several Fathers, as Chrysostom (*Hom. xxxiii. in Matth.* also Cal. Græc. Oct. 9), consider this Alphæus to be the same as the other, and consequently make St Matthew and St James the Less brothers. [See note 77 *inf.*]

²⁹ Grabe, *Spicilegium Patrum*, Tom. II. pp. 34, 35. Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, Tom. I. p. 16 (coll. p. 3). This important fragment, found in a MS. in the abbey of Osney, near Oxford, containing miscellaneous extracts, and affixing the name of Papias to this, runs thus:—"Maria (1) mater Domini; Maria (2) Cleophæ sive Alphæi uxor, quæ fuit mater Jacobi episcopi et apostoli, et Symonis, et Thadei, et cujusdam Joseph; Maria (3) Salome, uxor Zebedei, mater Joannis evangelistæ et Jacobi; Maria (4) Magdalene: istæ quatuor in evangelio reperiuntur. Jacobus et Judas et Joseph, filii erant materteræ Domini (2); Jacobus quoque et Joannes alterius materteræ Domini (3) fuerunt filii. Maria (2) Jacobi minoris et Joseph mater, uxor Alpei, soror fuit Mariæ matris Domini, quam Cleophæ Joannes nominat, vel a patre, vel a gentilitatis familia, vel alia causa. Maria (3) Salome vel a viro vel a vico dicitur: hanc eandem Cleophæ quidam dicunt, quod duos viros habuerit." Though we have here some incongruities, and the singularity of finding in Salome both a third Mary, and also a sister of the Virgin (an opinion which a recent Göttingen professor has revived), yet even the rumours recorded by so very ancient an author deserve notice: and the proof is at all events complete, that the identification of *Maria Clopæ* with the wife of Alphæus is far older than the time of St Jerome. It is in vain that Blom, to maintain its origination from that Father, attempts to put aside this fragment as undeserving of notice (p. 84), on account of the MS. being not older than A.D. 1312: as if no ancient authors had ever been thus preserved to us. See Routh, *Rel. Sac.* Vol. I. pp. 38, 212.

³⁰ But most probably the clause containing this doubt, viz. all from "Maria

ever doubt might occur as to the identity of this secondary name, as first indicated by Papias, the identity of the son of Alphæus with the brother of our Lord is laid down by him without the least question or ambiguity. So is it also in the book on the Twelve Apostles ascribed to St Hippolytus, where the known history of the martyrdom of the first Bishop of Jerusalem, our Lord's brother, is predicated distinctly of James the son of Alphæus³¹. And a still older and more eminent Father, St Clement of Alexandria, states clearly and precisely that there were but two distinguished persons in the apostolical history who bore this name of James; the one, he who, having been with St John his own brother and with St Peter honoured with peculiar distinction by his Lord, was at last beheaded (by

Jacobi minoris....." to the end is no part of the fragment of Papias, but an annotation of the same collector who appended the further words (justly rejected by Grabe from being part of the fragment), "*Maria dicitur Illuminatrix sive stella maris; genuit enim Lumen mundi: sermone autem Syro Domina nuncupatur, quia genuit Dominum.*" I infer this not only from the inconsequent repetition and the partial contradiction of the earlier parts, but from the great similarity in expression of the clause in question to this of St Jerome (*adv. Helvidium*), whence it seems transcribed: viz. "*Restat conclusio, ut Maria ista quæ Jacobi minoris scribitur mater, fuerit uxor Alphæi et soror Mariæ matris Domini: quam Mariam Cleophæ Joannes evangelista cognominat, sive a patre, sive a gentilitate familiæ aut quæcumque alia causa ei nomen imponens.*" The words in italics appear to me demonstrative of this.

³¹ S. Hippolytus de XII. Apostolis (*Opera*, Tom. I. Append. p. 30, *ed. Fabric.*). 'Ιάκωβος δὲ Ἀλφαίου, κηρύσσων ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ, ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων καταλευσθεὶς ἀναίρεται, καὶ θάπτεται ἐκεῖ παρὰ τῷ ναφ. This account (which is followed by similar short sketches of Ἰούδας ὁ καὶ Λεββαῖος, ... and Σίμων ὁ Κανανίτης ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, ὁ καὶ Ἰούδας, μετὰ Ἰάκωβον τὸν Δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπος γενόμενος Ἱεροσολύμων... shewing that this author knew nothing of the identity of Clopas and Alphæus) should be compared with the narration of St James the Just's death in Josephus, and of his burial in Hegesippus. I would not too confidently claim for this testimony, to our Lord's brother being the son of Alphæus, the name of the early Bishop and Martyr of the reign of Alexander Severus: though this criticism has the sanction of Combefis and Mill. The former of these reckons, that, in first publishing that work, he has given to the opinion (contrary to his own) respecting St James a patron superior even to Clement of Alexandria; the latter, in his edition of the N. T., prefixes testimonies from this work as undoubtedly genuine to the Gospels of St Matthew and St John respectively, assigning it the place due to Hippolytus before Origen. This opinion is at all events more defensible than that of Basnage (*Theol. Mon. Ecc.* Tom. III. p. 24 seq.), as well as of Fabricius, Cave, and Lardner, that the work on the Twelve Apostles was written by Hippolytus of Thebes. For on comparing the preceding statement of this book, respecting St James the brother of our Lord, with the singularly minute particulars of his pretended parentage in the Chronicle of that mediæval Hippolytus, as published by Fabricius and Basnage themselves, they are too glaringly contradictory throughout to have proceeded possibly from the same author. The above statement, totally different as it is from the general tradition of the Greek Church in the tenth century, and even the fifth, respecting the Jameses, as we shall see hereafter, is therefore all the more likely to belong to the third. Though containing some errors (e.g. ascribing the death of St James the Great to Herod the Tetrarch) and some mythical circumstances, which Du Pin considers as inventions of the later Greeks, and which may perhaps be interpolations, the book is decidedly superior to the legendary Chronicle of the Theban writer.

Herod Agrippa); the other the one surnamed the Just, who, having been by the three preceding Apostles made bishop of Jerusalem, ended his life by being precipitated from the temple, and then despatched by a fuller's club; the same whom St Paul saw alone of the Apostles in the holy city, and called the Lord's brother³². Thus does this learned Father exclude absolutely from the number of Apostles any other James than the son of Zebedee on the one hand, and our Lord's brother, the first bishop of Jerusalem, on the other, who is therefore the son of Alphæus. These testimonies suffice to show that the view defended by St Jerome against Helvidius, and which from his time has been the generally received opinion of the Western Church, was no novel introduction of his own; and when he confidently appeals to Ignatius, Polycarp, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, and many other Apostolical men, as having refuted the ancient heretics on that point which alone Helvidius held in common with them, viz. the existence of other sons of Mary, it is not unreasonable to presume that, as to the actual parentage of the alleged sons, their sentiments were not opposed to those of Clement and himself³³.

2. But beside this proof from the strictly apostolic character

³² This signal testimony of the great Alexandrine Father, which the supporters of the opposite opinion in vain endeavour to tax with inadvertence or lapse of memory, and which adds the suffrage of the early Egyptian Church to that of Asia Minor and the West, is thus quoted from his 6th and 7th books of Hypotyposes, by Eusebius (*H. E. Lib. II. cap. i. p. 93, ed. Heinichen*). Κλήμης δὲ ἐν ἑκτῷ τῶν ὑποτυπώσεων γράφων ὡδε παρίστησι. Πέτρον γὰρ φησι καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην μετὰ τὴν ἀνάληψιν τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου προτετιμημένους, μὴ ἐπιδικάζεσθαι δόξης, ἀλλ' Ἰάκωβον τὸν Δίκαιον ἐπίσκοπον Ἱεροσολύμων ἐλέσθαι. Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς, ἐν ἑβδόμῃ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἐτι καὶ ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ φησιν. “Ἰακώβω (τῷ Δικαίῳ) καὶ Ἰωάννῃ καὶ Πέτρῳ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν παρέδωκε τὴν γνώσιν ὁ Κύριος. οὗτοι τοῖς λοιποῖς ἀποστόλοις παρέδωκαν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἀπόστολοι τοῖς ἐβδόμη- κοντα, ὧν εἰς ἦν καὶ Βαρνάβας. Δύο δὲ γεγονόασιν Ἰάκωβοι, εἰς ὁ Δίκαιος, ὁ κατὰ τοῦ πτερυγίου βληθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ κναφέως ξύλῳ πληγείς εἰς θάνατον, ἕτερος δὲ ὁ καρατομηθεὶς.” Αὐτοῦ δὲ τοῦ Δικαίου καὶ ὁ Παῦλος μνημονεύει γράφων Ἐτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ Ἰάκωβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου. The argument from this place would not be affected even by Credner's notion that the τῷ Δικαίῳ in the second place is an interpolation, and that the triad there enumerated is identical with the former one; though I think this gratuitous conjecture sufficiently refuted by the περὶ αὐτοῦ, proved by the ἐτι to mean St James the Just, not the son of Zebedee. It is remarkable too that Eusebius quotes this view of Clement as the correct one, though he has elsewhere attached himself to the opposite opinion of three bearing the name of James.

³³ S. Hieron. *adv. Helvidium* (*Opera*, Tom. II. p. 12, G. ed. Francof. 1684). Helvidius believed the miraculous conception of Jesus; which the heretics there mentioned, Ebion, Theodotus of Byzantium, and Valentinus, denied. He had also cited two writers of note as agreeing with him on this question, Tertullian and Victorinus Bishop of Petabion: and Jerome seems to concede to him the former (because out of the Church) while he denies the other.

of our Lord's brother, that he could not be the son of Mary or of Joseph, there is a further most powerful argument against the existence of any son of Mary beside One. In his last agony on the Cross, He commits the domestic charge of the desolate mother to the specially beloved disciple St John. Is it then credible that, in giving the last and highest sanction of Incarnate Deity to the sacredness and tenderness of the filial relation, He would make that transfer of its obligation which the words "Woman, behold thy *son*" imply, had that mother sons living³⁴, and among them a St Jude and a St James? What are we to think, in reference to these, of the argument,

³⁴ This argument, in conjunction with the two preceding, is stated with great force and clearness, though with much of his usual asperity of language, by Jerome in the treatise above mentioned. Helvidius had maintained that "Mary the mother of James and Joses" who beheld the crucifixion and prepared spices for the burial was herself the mother of our Lord; an assertion, which (notwithstanding the glaring improbability, not to say the impossibility, of such a designation under any circumstances by the Evangelist, and then above all) is in good keeping with his opinion respecting the Lord's brethren, and escapes several other incongruities in which its modern defenders are involved". His reasoning on the passages cited *sup.* note 19 was this: "Quam miserum erit et impium de Maria hoc sentire, ut cum aliæ feminae curam sepulturæ Jesu habuerint, matrem ejus dicamus absentem, aut alteram esse Mariam nescio quam confingamus: præsertim cum Evangelium Joannis testetur præsentem eam illic fuisse, quando illam de cruce Dominus jam viduam ut matrem Joanni commendabat. Aut nunquid Evangelistæ et falluntur et fallunt, ut eorum Mariam matrem dicerent, quos Judæi fratres Jesu esse dixerant?" To this Jerome replies: "O furor cæcus, in proprium exitium mens vesana! Dicis ad crucem Domini matrem ejus fuisse præsentem: dicis Joanni discipulo eo viduitatem et solitudinem commendatam, quasi *juxta te non haberet quatuor filios, et innumeras filias quorum consortio frueretur*.....Dicis transitorie ad crucem Domini eam fuisse præsentem, ne consulto præterissee videaris, et tamen quæ cum illa fuerint mulieres siles. Ignoscerem nescienti, nisi viderem consulto reticentem. Audi itaque Joannes quid dicat. *Stabant autem juxta crucem Domini mater ejus, et soror matris ejus Maria Cleophæ, et Maria Magdalene.* Nulli dubium est, duos fuisse Apostolos Jacobi vocabulo nuncupatos, Jacobum Zebedæi, et Jacobum Alphæi. Istum nescio quem minorem Jacobum, quem Mariæ filium, nec tamen matris Domini, Scriptura commemorat, Apostolum vis esse an non? Si Apostolus est, Alphæi filius erit, et credidit in Jesum, et non erit de illis fratribus de quibus scriptum est: *neque enim tunc fratres ejus credebant in eum.* Si non est Apostolus, sed tertius nescio quis Jacobus, quomodo est frater Domini putandus? et quomodo tertius ad distinctionem *majoris* appellabitur *minor*, cum major et minor non inter tres sed inter duos soleant præbere distantiam, et frater Domini Apostolus sit? Paulo dicente: *Deinde post triennium veni Hierusalem videre Petrum, et mansi apud illum diebus quindecim: alium autem Apostolorum videre neminem, nisi Jacobum fratrem Domini.* Et in eadem Epistola: *Et cognita gratia quæ data est mihi, Petrus et Jacobus et Joannes, qui videbantur columnæ esse.* Ne autem hunc putes Jacobum filium Zebedæi, lege Actus Apostolorum. Jam ab Herode fuerat interemptus. Restat conclusio, ut Maria ista quæ Jacobi minoris scribitur mater, fuerit uxor Alphæi et soror Mariæ matris Domini, quam Mariam Cleophæ Joannes Evangelista cognominat, sive a patre, sive a gentilitate familiæ, aut quacunque alia causa ei nomen imponens." Hieron. Tom. II. pp. 10, 11.

* But it is strange to see the same identity maintained by any orthodox person, acknowledging Mary as the mother *really* of Jesus only, but *nominally* of James and Joses! So however it was by St Gregory of Nyssa, *Orat. in Resurrect. Opp.* Tom. II. p. 844; and by our own Dr Cave, in his *Life of St James the Less*, § 2 (who also identifies Alphæus with Joseph).

that the Saviour sought less to provide the support of natural duty than of Christian sympathy to the afflicted mother, and that this last could not be imparted by the brethren, who, as yet, "believed not on him"³⁵, when not only is the speaker one to whom even the distant future was then present, but the persons so strangely vilified by this argument were *confessedly*, within fifty days from this time, in the upper chamber of Jerusalem, engaged in prayer and supplication with St Mary and with the Apostles, in the midst of their virulent and triumphant enemies, (πάντες προσκαρτεροῦντες ὁμοθυμαδὸν τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ δεήσει)? It is not wonderful that they, whose singular zeal to give a family of children to the blessed Virgin has compelled them to employ an argument like the foregoing, should be forced, in pursuance of it, to imagine (against all the analogies of Scripture) that our Lord's special appearance to James³⁶ after the resurrection was the means of at last converting him from absolute infidelity; or that recourse should be had for that purpose to a legend of the apocryphal Gospel to the Hebrews, as purporting that this highest satisfaction had been required by him³⁷. But the Ebionite Gospel itself affords

³⁵ This is the argument of Dr Blom, p. 67, in the Dissertation above cited: "Quis afflictam erigeret? Fratresne, nondum illi Christum fide amplexi? Imo Joannes, vir amabilis," &c. &c. Whether this scripture, John vii. 5. or that of Acts i. 14, is most to the purpose here, let any reader judge. Nor will many, I apprehend, think the force of this argument annulled by the observation that the circumstance of Mary having sons living would be no greater bar to such a transfer than that of St John having a living mother, viz. Salome the wife of Zebedee. (Blom, *ibid.*)

³⁶ 1 Cor. xv. 7, 8. Ἐπειτα ὤφθη Ἰακώβῳ· εἶτα τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσιν· ἔσχατον δὲ πάντων, ὥσπερ τῷ ἐκτρώματι, ὤφθη κἀμοί. It need scarcely be remarked, how strongly this passage also speaks to the fact of the St James here meant being, in the strictest sense, an Apostle: nor how the distinction, drawn in the subsequent verses by St Paul, of his own case as a witness of the resurrection, and as an Apostle, from all others, makes it utterly incredible that either St James was an extraordinary Apostle like him (though Eusebius has made a remark tending to this, *H. E.* Lib. i. c. 12); or that this apparition to St James should have been the means of converting him from infidelity (an infidelity after long sight and converse with Jesus as a brother, how unlike that of Saul!); or that it should have been at all different in kind from the apparitions mentioned in the verses preceding, viz. to Cephas, to the twelve at Jerusalem, and to the five hundred brethren in Galilee. It may also be remarked, that this apparition to St James, being subsequent to that in Galilee, and therefore long after the Octave of Easter, when St Thomas was convinced, is quite incompatible with the legend about to be quoted. For the comment of Grotius and Hammond, that *ἔπειτα* and *εἶτα* do not here denote succession of time, is surely inadmissible.

³⁷ The modern writer in question says, "Res ipsa autem hic narrata non omnino fide indigna est: nam fieri potest ut Jacobus, cum diu dubius hasisset utrum Jesus Messias esset necne, tandem votum voverit, se talem eum esse crediturum, si ex prædictione sua in vitam rediisset." (Blom, p. 83.) Now compare with this account of the story, and this motive for thinking it credible, the story itself as

no aid whatever to the speculator here. It was an extraordinary act of faith, not of doubt, on the part of St James, that is described in the legend as rewarded with the desired vision of his Lord and kinsman; it was a vow that, after the eucharistic supper of the Thursday night preceding, he would not eat again till he saw Christ alive from the dead. And here too we have even Ebionitic testimony to the fact, that St James the brother of our Lord partook of the last supper: the exclusive privilege of the chosen twelve. On every side, then, we find our Scriptural proof confirmed; that he who was constantly termed, by way of distinction, our Lord's brother, and was assigned a post so different from all the other Apostles, yet so eminent among them, as that of fixed resident Bishop at Jerusalem, was an Apostle notwithstanding from the first³⁸, and could not have been the son of Mary. How otherwise, in a situation that so peculiarly fitted him for the office of her guardian, was he deprived of that honour and happiness, and the parent that had reared him from infancy committed to the charge of an errant Apostle³⁹?

But having arrived at so much of definite conclusion on this

quoted by St Jerome from the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*; and then say whether its characteristic feature, (and indeed the chief reason for withholding credence from it), be not directly opposite, viz. its ascribing to St James the Just a strength of faith beyond what any of the Apostles at that time possessed. The legend, an unusually beautiful one for an apocryphal Gospel, is thus quoted from it by Jerome in his account of St James: "*Dominus autem, quum dedisset sindonem servo sacerdotis, ivit ad Jacobum, et apparuit ei. Juraverat enim Jacobus, se non comesturum panem ab illa hora qua biberat calicem Domini, donec videret eum resurgentem a mortuis. Rursusque post paululum: Afferte, ait Dominus, mensam et panem. Statimque additur: Tulit panem, et benedixit, ac fregit, et dedit Jacobo Justo, et dixit ei: Frater mi, comede panem tuum, quia resurrexit Filius hominis a dormientibus.*" [S. Hieron. Tom. I. p. 170.] Were we to adopt the reading, which seems highly probable, "*qua biberat calicem Dominus*" (the cup of suffering), we lose the argument from James's presence at the last supper.

³⁸ Those who believe St James the Just to be unincorporated in the number of the twelve lay stress on the passages of the ancients, where he is said to have been ordained by the Apostles Bishop of Jerusalem; or, as Hegesippus says, to have ruled that Church *μετὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων*. But how little these expressions prove as to the supposed inferiority of his station to theirs, we may learn from the passage already quoted from St Clement (note 32 *sup.*), where this consecration of St James the Just is described as the act of the three Apostles most favoured by their Lord; and so far from indicating inferiority in the object of their choice, indicating rather their own humility in foregoing so exalted a station for themselves. And this agrees well with the inspired testimony of the Apostle of the Gentiles in Gal. i. ii. Rufinus even conceived that the Apostles elected St James to be their own superior, *apostolorum episcopum*. See Valesius, in *Euseb.* II. 23.

³⁹ St John's possession of a house in Jerusalem, as inferred from some passages in his Gospel, is assigned, in addition to our Lord's special love for him, as a reason for his being entrusted with this precious charge. But the ever necessary residence of a Bishop would be a yet stronger reason of this kind, had there been the further claim of actual sonship to balance that of the beloved disciple.

subject, it is well that we should enumerate some of the difficulties with which it is attended. For beside that it is never expedient to conceal from ourselves the existence of such difficulties, the survey of them, as they present themselves to earnest lovers of truth, will exhibit a marked difference from such as are purely factitious, springing from a mere desire to confuse and mythicize the region of Evangelical history.

I. Since of the four brethren enumerated by the men of Nazareth, *James* and *Jude* his brother are proved to be of the twelve Apostles, and *Simon*, who certainly succeeded the former at Jerusalem, has been by many not improbably thought identical with Simon Zelotes of the same number⁴⁰, a difficulty follows as to the narrative in John vii., which is certainly posterior to the calling of the twelve: inasmuch as we have left but one brother, viz. *Joses*, to whom that narrative can possibly apply; though it is said of many, or rather of the whole number, that "*neither did his brethren believe on him.*" To meet this difficulty, we may observe, (1) that it is by no means necessary to suppose *all*, who might be according to Jewish usage termed our Lord's brethren, to have been enumerated by the Nazarenes by name. (2) Neither is it necessary that all of these should have manifested that unbelief (which is not of the worst kind or degree, though incompatible with the character of a true disciple⁴¹), but only a considerable proportion of them. (3) Neither is it necessary to exclude from the unbelievers on that occasion him whom Hegesippus calls Symeon the son of Clopas: for neither in that most ancient account of him do we find any assertion or hint that he was an Apostle; nor in the enumera-

⁴⁰ The identity of the Apostle Simon the Canaanite or Zealot with the brother and successor of St James is asserted in the book of the twelve Apostles ascribed to St Hippolytus (p. 230 *sup.*), by St Jerome (or Sophronius) in the *Catalogus Script. Eccl.* (an apparent confusion with St Jude occurring in these several testimonies), by Isidore of Seville in his book de *Vita et Morte Sanctorum*, cap. 83, and others. Bede at first embraced this opinion on the authority of the Spanish Father's work, but was led to doubt it by observing several fabulous or erroneous particulars there: though of this identity he says, *ne adhuc quidem negare audeamus.* See Vales. in *Euseb. H. E.* III. 11, and Combefis in *Hippolyt.* p. 39, ed. Fabric.

⁴¹ On this point I cannot agree with Schleyer; who in p. 103 seq. of his dissertation on the brethren contends (not against Olshausen only but against preceding interpreters generally) that the defect of faith here exhibited is no more than what was shared by all the Apostles at that time: that the words οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπίστευσαν εἰς αὐτόν mean, "*Not even his brethren, though numbering among them three Apostles (James, Jude and Simon), had attained that right spiritual faith in the Lord's divine character, which could enter into his reasons for declining a proclamation of his claims to the world.*"

tion of the Twelve in the Gospels is there any such family designation attached to Simon the Canaanite or Zealot, as we find attached to Jude by the third Evangelist. (4) Neither is there any repugnancy between the history of John vii., even if conceived to relate to Simon and Joses only, and the other statements of the New Testament: for there was ample time between that feast of Tabernacles and the Passover of the year following for the conversion of the former, and the latter also, to the better mind of their apostolic brothers. (5) Still less is there any repugnancy, if, to Joses and Simon, or even to Joses without Simon, we add the sisters, or Clopas their father, or (as Grotius suggests) other more remote relatives, as constituting the ἀδελφοί who manifested unbelief on the former occasion; and if to the same Joses and Simon, or Joses singly, we add others of the same class, but not necessarily identical with the former individuals, as making up those ἀδελφοί who in Acts i. 14, and on subsequent occasions, are distinguished as a class of the faithful from the Apostles.

II. While it is from the first two Gospels that we obtain the names of the four brethren, James, Joses, Simon, and Judas, and also the correct notion of their parentage in the statement that the mother of the two first-named was *another* Mary, it is somewhat perplexing to find that by these Evangelists only is the last of the four not thus named in the list of the Twelve: that whereas St John mentions Jude as an Apostle, and St Luke twice includes him in their catalogue as "*Jude* the brother of James," placing him next after James and Simon Zelotes, the two earlier Evangelists place him between the same James and Simon, under the different name of *Thaddæus*; St Matthew adding also a third name, *Lebbæus*⁴². Perhaps, when the treason of Judas Iscariot was yet recent, there might be reluctance, unfelt at the period when St Luke, and St John, and St Jude himself wrote, to use in the designation of an Apostle a name that might lead the readers to think of the traitor, (St John himself thinking it necessary to say "*Judas, not Iscariot*"⁴³): while in recording the speech of the men of Nazareth it was not necessary to forbear the use of the more ordinary well-known name of the person in question; which

⁴² Matt. x. 3; Mark iii. 18 (coll. Luke vi. 15, 16; Acts i. 13).

⁴³ John xiv. 22.

continued even to the last to be his usual proper designation. No more need be said on this singular circumstance; which, considering the frequency of plurality of names among the Jews, and the indubitable identity of the possessor of these three names, Lebbæus, Thaddæus, and Judas, scarcely amounts to a difficulty.

III. The oldest post-Scriptural testimony, and that to which we might look for most accurate details of what is left ambiguous in the Scripture account of our Lord's brethren,—I mean the testimony of the early Church of Palestine,—is not, on every point, so minutely accordant as might be hoped with the above deductions. We find there, indeed, as might be expected, the epithet of "the Lord's brother" given frequently to St James the Just, and sometimes also to St Jude; while "the Lord's brethren," in whom they are included, are alluded to as a numerous class: and it is remarkable also that the title is usually followed with a qualifying epithet, denoting that the brotherhood was not a strict one⁴⁴. All this is clearly against what the modern Helvidians would represent as likely to be the statement of the primitive age. Still the manner in which St James and St Jude were brethren of Christ is left by this ancient testimony unexplained. While describing minutely the life and acts of the former, Hegesippus says nothing of his being the son of Mary, wife of Clopas and sister of our Lord's mother, as constituting the real ground of his brotherhood: and further, when he speaks of Symeon the son of Clopas as succeeding to the See of Jerusalem, and indicates also, by his mode of expression, that this was the second instance, not the first, of a *cousin* of the Lord occupying that episcopate⁴⁵, he never states

⁴⁴ e.g. 'Ιούδα, τοῦ κατὰ σάρκα λεγομένου αὐτοῦ [τοῦ Κυρίου] ἀδελφοῦ; and again, ἐνδὸς τῶν φερομένων ἀδελφῶν τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ᾧ ὄνομα 'Ιούδας. Hegesippus *apud* Euseb. *H. E.* Lib. III. cap. 20 et 32. The expression in the latter passage (which is a mere passing reference to the narration in the former of the descendants of this Judas attracting the suspicious notice of Domitian by their claim of descent from David) does not certainly sound as if the narrator conceived the Jude in question to be an Apostle.

⁴⁵ Καὶ μετὰ τὸ μαρτυρῆσαι Ἰάκωβον τὸν Δίκαιον ὡς καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ, πάλιν ὁ ἐκ θείου αὐτοῦ Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ καθίσταται ἐπίσκοπος· ὃν προέθεντο πάντες ὄντα ἀνεψιὸν τοῦ Κυρίου δεύτερον. Hegesipp. *ap.* Euseb. *H. E.* Lib. IV. cap. 22 (comparing Lib. III. capp. 11, 32, the former quoted p. 226 *sup.*). The force of the conclusion in the text depends on the reference of the words πάλιν and δεύτερον. If they refer severally to καθίσταται and ὃν προέθεντο, they denote no more than that Symeon was the second Bishop of Jerusalem (Blom, pp. 85, 86), a circumstance which it were equally needless and unnatural to indicate so mark-

that *James* was also the son of Clopas, as Chrysostom and Theodoret do when repeating this tradition in a subsequent age; his silence might rather induce the reader to conclude that such was not the parentage of St James, and that he was in some way more nearly related to our Lord than the son of Clopas, his successor. The difficulty arising from this silence would be removed, if, departing from the authority of the two Antiochene fathers, and a tradition apparently older than their time, we could consider Clopas as a distinct person from Alphæus; viz. as the second husband of the Mary, of whom Alphæus was the first. For if James and Joses were the sons of this Mary (the blessed Virgin's sister) and *Alphæus*,—while Jude, the brother of James, was the son of the same Mary and *Clopas*, the brother of Joseph the carpenter,—and Simon or Symeon was the same Clopas's son by another wife prior to Mary,—we should thus sufficiently account for the much greater proximity of James than of Symeon to our Lord, though once forming part of the same household, and for the different mention of the two by this very ancient writer of Palestine⁴⁶. Whether the difficulty might be otherwise removed, I will not

edly, if at all, when the bare narration of succession was enough. But the close juxtaposition of the *particle* with ὁ ἐκ θελου αὐτοῦ (Χριστοῦ) and of the *adjective* with ἀνεψιόν* as its proper subject, leads plainly to the inference that this was the second instance of the see being filled by such a relative as that term denotes, viz. a cousin. (The father of Symeon was the *θεῖος* or *patruus* of our Lord, Joseph being considered as his father: but the cousinship of James, which this historian never analyses or defines, should seem to have been closer than this.) It is observable also, with reference to the Palestine tradition, that Epiphanius represents Symeon not as the brother, but as the *cousin*, of St James the Just; using the same word in describing Symeon's relation to him as to our Lord: for in describing the martyrdom of the first Bishop of Jerusalem, he says, Συμεὼν πόρρω ἑστώς, ὁ τούτου (Ἰακώβου) ἀνεψιός, υἱὸς δὲ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, ἔλεγε “Παύσασθε, τί λιθάζετε τὸν Δίκαιον; καὶ ἰδοὺ εἴχεται ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τὰ κάλλιστα.” (*Hær.* 78, Tom. I. p. 1046, D. ed. Petav.)

⁴⁶ And also for the subordinate circumstance that St Jude is never termed, like his brother, the son of Alphæus.

* So truly Neander: “Einen zweiten Neffen (zweite ἀνεψιόν) konnte aber Hegesippus diesen Symeon nennen, indem er an den Apostel Jakobus den Sohn des Alphæus, der nicht mehr am Leben war, als den ersten Neffen dachte:” though, in despite of the plain sense of the passage, he distinguishes this *first* cousin, the Apostle James, from St James the first Bishop of Jerusalem, whom Symeon succeeds! See Neander, *Geschichte der Pflanzung und Leitung der Christlichen Kirche durch die Apostel*, 2nd Ed. Vol. II. p. 441, and Schleyer, p. 24. A similar testimony to the truth on this head is given by another writer who is, equally with Neander, an assertor of three bearing the name of James. R. Stier (whom I find quoted by Blom, pp. 23, 84) conceives that first the Apostles, and James the son of Alphæus in particular, governed the Church of Jerusalem, and afterwards (post Apostolos, as Jerome represents the testimony of Hegesippus on this head) James the brother of our Lord: further, that St Paul in Gal. ii. 9 means the former, though in i. 19 he of course meant the latter, his successor! It is very remarkable that an ancient writer of some note, Dorotheus, who also distinguishes the two, makes them, like Stier, successive governors of the Jerusalem Church, but with the curious difference of making our Lord's brother the predecessor, not the successor, of the son of Alphæus, whom he accordingly identifies, strangely, with Symeon the son of Clopas. See Combefis in *Hippolyt.* p. 36. The maintainers of the identity of Alphæus with Clopas, and of his son with the first Bishop of Jerusalem, could scarcely find a stronger confirmation of their opinion than the necessity which dictated these hypotheses.

enquire: for on such hypotheses, where there is no direct evidence to certify them, it were absurd to rest any confidence. Perhaps, too, the circumstance of Mary, the mother of James and Joses, being the sister of our Lord's mother, may have been written by Hegesippus elsewhere as the notorious foundation of St James's near brotherhood to our Lord: though, if so, we see not why Eusebius should not have extracted the passage, as he has copied the less interesting statement that Symeon's father Clopas, (the husband, or else the father, of that Mary)⁴⁷, was the brother of Joseph. But however indeterminate as to the exact parentage, Hegesippus never terms James or his brethren sons of Joseph: and as to the Helvidian opinion, that they were also sons of his espoused wife Mary, even its modern advocates do not claim him as abetting or countenancing it⁴⁸. Neither can his expression, ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ Ἰάκωβοι ἐκαλοῦντο, in noticing St James's special surname, "the Just," prove that he considered him as distinct from *both* the Apostles so named, *i. e.* from the son of Alphæus as well as of Zebedee. The expression clearly proves too much for the assertors of *three* eminent Apostolical persons called James: it is a testimony only to the extreme commonness of the name among the Jews of that age.

IV. The fourth and last circumstance, which must be stated as a difficulty in the way of the conclusion here drawn from the scattered notices in the New Testament, and the vestiges of primitive belief on that subject, is the concurrence with this at a very early period, in the Eastern Church especially, of an entirely different opinion respecting these brethren and sisters of our Lord: I mean the opinion which makes them the children of Joseph the carpenter by another wife, *prior* to his espousal of the blessed Virgin, and which consequently distinguishes St James the Just our Lord's brother from the Apostle St James the Less, the son of Alphæus. As this opinion (though agreeing

⁴⁷ Mark particularly the quotation *H. E.* III. 32, where Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ is cited from John xix. 25, but only for the purpose of referring to Clopas as *θεῖος* or paternal uncle of Jesus. It is as if Hegesippus understood ἀδελφὴ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ in that passage to mean not the proper *sister* of our Lord's mother, but either the *sister-in-law* or the *niece* of that mother's husband.

⁴⁸ This is conceded by one of the most accurate of the writers in question, while he is labouring to evince, from most insufficient data, that Hegesippus believed James and the rest to be sons of Joseph. "Etsi igitur non existimamus Hegesippum fratres Jesu habuisse pro filiis Mariæ, abunde tamen ille nobis significare videtur, se cogitasse de filiis Josephi, qui cum Jesu pater haberetur, ejus filii hujus fratres dici poterant." Blom, p. 86.

as to the last mentioned distinction, yet in other respects) differs considerably from that whose refutation has chiefly occupied us, and, if we regard the number of its authorities, might appear to balance that which has been laid down as the exclusive truth, its claims both in respect to Scripture and antiquity may well demand a separate consideration.

1. With reference to the notices of our Lord's brethren in the *New Testament*, this hypothesis has not at first sight so much in its favour as the Helvidian one which we have hitherto examined. For it is remarkable that these brethren are never termed the sons of Joseph; and that they are named but once, and then but indirectly or mediately, in connexion with him⁴⁹; whereas they are repeatedly mentioned in direct association with Mary, and, though never called her children, are yet spoken of nearly as they would have been had they been hers. But excepting this circumstance, (of which the widowhood of Mary and headship in the household of the deceased Joseph may well be taken as a sufficient account), this hypothesis is far more agreeable to the Gospel, when carefully examined, than the one that has been refuted. It imparts a meaning to the Nazarenes' wondering enumeration of these (now *elder*) brethren, which on the other supposition is senseless. It accounts for what is on the other scheme inexplicable, the tone of authority assumed by the unbelieving brothers. Above all, it removes more than half of the revolting improbability we find in the supposition that the care of the holiest of mothers should be removed, as by a direct sentence of disinheritance, by the mouth of the expiring Jesus, from a most exemplary and admirable son. But still that great improbability is not *wholly* removed. The bond of holy matrimony which united a deceased father to a survivor, though not a mother, makes the relation of a step-son a very sacred one. It is one which He who came to sanctify all natural relations would not overlook, as entailing peculiar obligations of love and duty towards a widowed step-mother, when losing, by a most dreadful catastrophe, the support of her only actual son. The circumstance therefore that the first Bishop of Jerusalem was not to harbour his father's wife, by whom he had been on

⁴⁹ Viz. in Matth. xiii. 55, where, though Jesus is termed by the Nazarenes "the carpenter's son," the brotherhood of James and the rest is connected with the mention of his mother rather than of Joseph: as we find in all the other places, xii. 46; Mark iii. 31, vi. 3; Luke viii. 19; John ii. 12.

this hypothesis supported from early infancy, is surely left by it without adequate explication⁵⁰: for no real solution of the difficulty is obtained even from the strange hypothesis to which the modern Helvidians have had recourse, that St James and the other supposed sons of Joseph were reclaimed from absolute unbelief in Christ *between the resurrection and the ascension*. This however is but the commencement of improbabilities. There follows the necessity of maintaining that *he* was not an Apostle whom St Paul not only so describes to the Galatians, but ranks with St Peter and St John as a chief pillar of the Church and apostle of the circumcision: that while, beside the son of Zebedee, there was certainly another called James, and surviving the former, among the chosen twelve, and also a “Jude the brother of James,” the James here distinguished as extra-Apostolic so far eclipses the estimation of that Apostle, that when his brother Jude likewise writes authoritatively to the Jewish Church of the dispersion, he styles himself, as by distinction from every other of his common name, *Jude the brother of James*—thus appropriating the very designation which is twice attached by St Luke to another Jude the brother of another James, both Apostles of Christ’s own selection to convert the world. And this hypothesis at the same time requires us to believe that when St Matthew speaks of “Mary the mother of James,” he does not there mean the James whose fame has thus obscured every other James in the Jewish Church, for which he was particularly writing—not even though he adds there (xxvii. 56) “the mother of James and Joses,” and had before confessedly assigned to this same distinguished James a brother named Joses (xiii. 55); but that here, for the very purpose of distinguishing

⁵⁰ Thus when St Hilary presses against the assertors of a large family of the Blessed Virgin the same argument that was afterwards employed by St Jerome against Helvidius (p. 232 sup.) it is impossible not to see how *his* argument is weakened by the parenthetical introduction of this hypothesis. “Verum homines pravissimi hinc presumunt opinionis suæ autoritatem, quod plures Dominum nostrum fratres habuisse sit traditum. Qui si Mariæ filii fuissent, *et non potius Joseph ex priori conjugio suscepti*, nunquam in tempore passionis Joanni Apostolo transcripta esset in matrem, Domino ad utrumque dicente, Mulier, &c. &c.” Hilarii in *Matth.* cap. i. [ed. Paris, 1631, fol. 467]. The same may be said of Epiphanius, when employing against the Carpocratians the same argument to prove that James, Joses, Judas, and Symeon, could not have been the children of Joseph by Mary, *but by another wife*, οὐκ ἂν μετὰ σταυρὸν προεῖναι παραθέσθαι αὐτὴν Ἰωάννη τῷ ἁγίῳ παρθένῳ, ὡς λέγει, Ἴδε ἡ μητὴρ σου καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ, Ἴδε ὁ υἱός σου· εἶδε γὰρ αὐτὸν παραδόναι αὐτὴν τοῖς αὐτῆς συγγενεσίῳ, ἢ τοῖς τέκνοις τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, εἴπερ ἦσαν ἐξ αὐτῆς, Ἰακώβῳ φημι καὶ Ἰωσὴ καὶ Ἰούδα καὶ Συμεῶνι, υἱοῖς οὖτοι τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ἀπὸ τῆς ἄλλης γυναίκος. Epiphani. *Hær.* xxvii. Opp. Tom. i. p. 115.

that hitherto unmentioned Mary, he is calling her the mother of another James, viz. the eclipsed son of Alphæus, and of another Josès his brother. I do not say that these things are incapable of being proved. I only assert that the necessity of admitting them should be most decided and unquestionable, to overcome their great apparent improbability.

The question whether this be indeed a genuine Apostolical tradition, or a hypothesis early invented to account for the propinquity of those termed brethren in the Gospels without offending the common sentiment of Christians by the ascription of other children to the mother of our Lord, must depend not only on the collation of it with the scattered notices in the New Testament, but on the history of its reception in the Church. It was to be expected, if the latter view be correct, that the hypothesis in question, while sufficient to explain the facts that lie on the surface of Scripture, would fail, as we have seen, to solve the difficulties that a deeper investigation would bring to notice. But whether this be indeed a true account of the matter, or whether this be only one of the uncertainties which attend all scantily recorded events of antiquity, can only be seen by examining the first propounding of this opinion, and comparing its witnesses with those to the opposite assertion of but two Apostolical Jameses and one Jude.

2. To this point, therefore,—the vestiges of this rival opinion *in the ancient Church*,—we have now to direct our attention. We learn from Origen⁵¹ that there were *some* in his early age, who, while wishing to maintain the perpetual virginity of Mary, held the opinion that St James and the other brethren were sons of Joseph by a former wife: but that their opinion was

⁵¹ Origenes in *Matt.* xiii. 55 (*Opp.* Tom. III. p. 462, E. ed. Delarue). "Ὦντο οὖν αὐτὸν [Ἰησοῦν οἱ Ναζωραῖοι] εἶναι Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μαρίας υἱόν. Τοὺς δὲ ἀδελφοὺς Ἰησοῦ φασὶ τινες εἶναι, ἐκ παραδόσεως ὁρμώμενοι τοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου κατὰ Πέτρον εὐαγγελίου, ἣ τῆς βίβλου Ἰακώβου, υἱοὺς Ἰωσήφ ἐκ προτέρας γυναίκος συνωκηκίας αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς Μαρίας· οἱ δὲ ταῦτα λέγοντες τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς Μαρίας ἐν παρηνία τηρεῖν μέχρι τέλους βούλονται, ἵνα μὴ τὸ κριθέν ἐκείνο σῶμα διακονήσασθαι τῷ εἰπόντι Λόγῳ, "Πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σε, καὶ δύναμις Ὑψίστου ἐπισκιασεῖ σοι," γινῶ κόντην ἀνδρὸς μετὰ τὸ ἐπελθεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον καὶ τὴν ἐπισκιακίαν αὐτῇ δυνάμει ἐξ ὕψους... In the sequel of this passage Origen says that, of the brethren named by the men of Nazareth, James is the Apostle the Lord's brother whom St Paul mentions Gal. i. 19, and whose justice has won a testimony even from Flavius Josephus: that the Judas is the author of the short Canonical Epistle bearing his name: but that concerning Josès and Simon we know nothing certain, οὐδὲν ἱστορήσαμεν, a proof that the learned Alexandrine never identified the latter either with the Apostle Simon Zelotes, or with the son of Clopas who succeeded St James at Jerusalem.

derived from apocryphal Scriptures, either from *the Gospel according to Peter*, or *the book of James*; the former, as we may remark, a work which even the heretic Serapion⁵² thought it necessary to denounce, as fraught with the Docetic error ascribing only an unreal humanity to the Word Incarnate; the latter, the book now more commonly known as the *Protevangelium* of this brother of our Lord, the futile and legendary character of which we have had occasion to notice before⁵³. Nor do we ascend to much more pure or apostolic sources, when attempting to trace the earliest writings in which the supposed elder son of Joseph, the first Bishop of Jerusalem, appears as an unequivocally distinct person from St James the son of Alphæus. No older witness to such a distinction can be found than the pseudo-Clement; the writer who, in the third century, using the name of that primitive Roman Bishop, under various forms of Homilies, Recognitions, &c., favoured the world not only with his correspondence with St James the Just, but with minute and circumstantial accounts of his interviews with St Peter and the other Apostles, their proceedings and conferences, their disputes with Caiaphas and Simon Magus, and their ordinances for the regulation of the Universal Church: the same fertile genius,

⁵² Euseb. *H. E.* Lib. vi. cap. 12 (Tom. II. pp. 176—8, ed. Heinic.).

⁵³ *Vid. sup.* pp. 111—114. The testimony of Origen is borne out by what we read in the *Protevangelium*, cap. 9, and in cap. 8 of another similar book, bearing the name of James the son of Joseph, concerning Joseph's remonstrance when Mary is offered to his guardianship by the priests, that he is old and has sons (Thilo, *Cod. Apocryp.* Tom. I. pp. 208, 362). Again, in cap. 17 of the former book, he is represented as going to Bethlehem on occasion of Augustus's census, to register his sons as well as himself and Mary; and Joses and Simon are particularly mentioned as behind the rest in the journey thither from Galilee. But the same veracious testimony denies him daughters, though the Scriptural ground for both is exactly the same. For such according to the book is the ridiculous soliloquy of Joseph on that occasion: ἐγὼ ἀπογράφομαι τοὺς υἱοὺς μου, ταύτην δὲ τὴν παῖδα (Μαρίαν) τί ποιήσω; πῶς αὐτὴν ἀπογράψομαι; γυναῖκα ἐμὴν; ἀλλ' ἀσχύνομαι· ἀλλὰ θυγατέρα; οἶδας οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μου θυγάτηρ (Thilo, p. 236). The Arabic History of Joseph the carpenter, in the sequel of a passage before quoted (p. 114), is more complete in assigning to Joseph as many children as the Nazarenes' exclamation is supposed to indicate. For it says, "he begat four sons and two daughters: and these are their names, *Jude, Justus, James, and Simon*, and of the daughters, *Asia and Lydia*." The author copies from preceding apocryphal books the two female names, and in the others ignorantly substitutes for Joses what is the usual

epithet of St James, viz. Justus يسطس (Thilo, *Cod. Apoc.* p. 10). In the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, and in the Greek one also that bears the name of *Thomas the Israelite Philosopher* (Thilo, pp. 118 and 310), we read a story of James having been sent by his father Joseph to gather sticks, and bitten by a viper: from the deadly effects of which he is recalled to life by the breath of the infant Jesus.

as several internal marks indicate⁵⁴, who disfigured by large and frequent interpolations of an Arian character the genuine Apostolical Epistles of St Ignatius of Antioch. This author, in the so-called Apostolical Constitutions, introduces the Sacred College recapitulating their various proceedings from their first assembling after the Lord's ascension in Acts i. to their synodical proceeding at Jerusalem in Acts xv⁵⁵; and then declaring that at present, a considerable interval having elapsed since this last assembly, new heretics had sprung up, the ravening wolves whom the Lord had predicted,—“on account of whom we now assembled, Peter and Andrew, *James* and John the sons of *Zebedee*, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew, *James the son of Alphæus* and Lebbæus surnamed Thaddæus, and Simon the Canaanite, and Matthias who was elected to our number in the place of Judas, also *James the Lord's brother*, Bishop of Jerusalem, and Paul the vessel of election, doctor of the Gentiles, have together with one accord written to you this catholic doctrine,” &c. &c. St James the Just, who is here ranked with St Paul as if he were one of two extraordinary co-adjutors to the twelve, is elsewhere made to hold an intermediate place between the other thirteen and the seventy disciples. For so we read in the second book⁵⁶; “God called men...after the Lord's passion by us the twelve Apostles, and Paul the vessel of election: wherefore we (the thirteen aforesaid) who were thought worthy to be witnesses of the resurrection, together with *James the brother of the Lord*, and other seventy-two disciples, and seven deacons, have heard from the mouth of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c.” And in the last book⁵⁷; “We the Apostles of the

⁵⁴ Usserius de Clementinorum et Ignatianorum *κακοπλαστικά* in cap. x.—xvi. *Dissertationis de Epistolis S. Ignatii et Polycarpi.*

⁵⁵ *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, Lib. vi. capp. 12, 13: dein cap. 14. Δ' οὓς καὶ ἡμεῖς νῦν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γενόμενοι, Πέτρος καὶ Ἀνδρέας, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Ἰωάννης υἱοὶ Ζεβεδαίου, Φίλιππος καὶ Βαρθολομαῖος, Θωμᾶς καὶ Ματθαῖος, Ἰάκωβος Ἀλφαίου καὶ Λεββαῖος ὁ ἐπικληθεὶς Θαδδαῖος, καὶ Σίμων ὁ Κανανίτης, καὶ Μαθθίας ὁ ἀντὶ Ἰούδα καταψηφισθεὶς ἡμῖν, Ἰάκωβός τε ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀδελφὸς καὶ Ἱεροσολύμων ἐπίσκοπος, καὶ Παῦλος ὁ τῶν ἐθνῶν διδάσκαλος, τὸ σκεῦος τῆς ἐκλογῆς, ἅμα πάντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ γενόμενοι, ἐγράψαμεν ὑμῖν τὴν καθολικὴν ταύτην διδασκαλίαν κ.τ.λ.

⁵⁶ *Constit. Apost.* Lib. II. cap. 55: ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς, Θεὸς ὦν ἐλέους, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐκδόστην γενεὰν ἐπὶ μετάνοιαν καλεῖ διὰ τῶν δικαίων καὶ τῶν προφητῶν καὶ...τοὺς μετὰ τὸ πάθος αὐτοῦ, δι' ἡμῶν τῶν δώδεκα, καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἐκλογῆς σκεύους Παύλου. Ἡμεῖς οὖν οἱ καταβιωθέντες εἶναι μάρτυρες τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ, σὺν Ἰακώβῳ τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀδελφῷ καὶ ἐτέροις ἐβδομήκοντα δύο μαθηταῖς, καὶ τοῖς ἐπτά διακόνους αὐτοῦ, ἐκ στόματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἀκριβῶς εἰδότες λέγομεν κ.τ.λ.

⁵⁷ *Constit. Apost.* Lib. VIII. cap. 4: Ἄμα τοίνυν ὑπάρχοντες ἡμεῖς οἱ δεκαδύο τοῦ Κυρίου ἀπόστολοι τάσδε τὰς θέλας ἡμῶν ἐντελλόμεθα διατάξεις περὶ παντὸς ἐκκλησια-

Lord...with Paul the chosen vessel our fellow Apostle, and James the Bishop and the rest of the presbyters and the seven deacons." And at the close; "By our Saviour were we appointed, the thirteen Apostles: and by the Apostles I *James*, and I *Clement*, and others with us;" these others having been enumerated before⁵⁸ to be St James's next two successors in Jerusalem, Symeon son of Clopas, and *Jude brother of James* (thus expressly distinguished from the Apostle so called and characterized by St Luke): also the first two or three Bishops in the several apostolical sees of Cæsarea in Palestine, of Alexandria, Rome, and the cities of Asia Minor. Now of the historical credit of this writer we may judge, not only from his thus including among his apostolical Bishops two at least who could not have been consecrated before the death of Clement,—nor only from the evidently apocryphal circumstance, opposed to every historical authority, of making St Jude the brother of James the third Bishop of Jerusalem,—but from yet more grievous hallucinations apparent on the face of these extracts. For here we have St James the son of Zebedee introduced as deliberating and deciding with his fellow Apostles, though he was beheaded by Herod Agrippa before even the first council of Jerusalem, which is there recapitulated as long past⁵⁹. And the whole fourteen are solemnly convoked to deliberate on the heresies of "Cerinthus, Marcus, Menander, Basilides and Saturninus⁶⁰:" though

στικοῦ τύπου, συμπαρόντων ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἐκλογῆς σκεύους Παύλου τοῦ συναποστόλου ἡμῶν, καὶ Ἰακώβου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν πρεσβυτέρων, καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ διακόνων. Et cap. 46: 'Τὸν Μωσῆς μὲν γὰρ τοῦ θεοφιλεστάτου ἀρχιερεῖς κατεστάθησαν, καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ λεῖται· ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ἡμεῖς οἱ δεκατρεῖς ἀποστολοὶ· ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγὼ Ἰάκωβος καὶ ἐγὼ Κλήμης, καὶ σὺν ἡμῖν ἕτεροι, ἵνα μὴ πάντας πάλιν καταλέγωμεν· κοινῇ δὲ ὑπὸ πάντων ἡμῶν πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ διάκονοι, καὶ ὑποδιάκονοι, καὶ ἀναγνώσται.

⁵⁸ *Constit. Apost. Lib. vii. cap. 46*: Περὶ δὲ τῶν ὑφ' ἡμῶν χειροτονηθέντων ἐπισκόπων ἐν τῇ ζωῇ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ, γνωρίζομεν ὑμῖν ὅτι εἰσὶν οὗτοι· Ἱεροσολύμων μὲν Ἰάκωβος ὁ τοῦ Κυρίου ἀδελφός, οὗ τελευτήσαντος δεύτερος Συμεὼν ὁ τοῦ Κλεόπα (Κλωπᾶ), μεθ' ὃν τρίτος Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου· Καισαρείας δὲ κ.τ.λ. St Jude is here ignorantly confounded with Justus, the third of the sixteen bishops of the circumcision, who succeeded an. 10 Trajani (A. D. 108), on the martyrdom of Symeon (who had occupied the see 44 years from St James's death). Euseb. *Chronicon*, and also *H. E. Lib. iii. cap. 35*, &c.

⁵⁹ Compare the xiii and xvth chapters of the Acts with *Const. Apost. Lib. vi. cap. 12* (Cotelerii, *Patres Apostolici*, Tom. i. pp. 341, 342), also with *Lib. vii. cap. 12* (pp. 398—404, *ibid.*) where there is a long constitution of St James the son of Zebedee on the Eucharistic Office: (and amidst other special constitutions, we have also, in cap. 23, one of St James the son of Alphæus respecting Confessors, and in cap. 35 one of St James the Lord's brother on the Vesper service. *Ibid.* pp. 409, 416).

⁶⁰ *Const. Apost. Lib. vi. cap. 8*: Ἦνῃκα δὲ ἐξήλθομεν ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσι κηρύσσειν τὸν λόγον τῆς ζωῆς, τότε ἐνήργησεν ὁ διάβολος εἰς τὸν λαὸν ἀποστεῖλαι ὀπίσω ἡμῶν ψευδα-

the last two of these and Marcus never propagated their impieties till after the death of the last surviving Apostle, and of St Clement the pretended historian also.

It may be indeed alleged that these or even greater absurdities (such as making the living Apostles to ordain the festive solemnities of their own martyrdoms, and fix the entire canon of the New Testament, including the Acts of the Apostles, St John's Gospel, &c. &c.)⁶¹, though sufficient to destroy all regard to the author's pretended facts, will not annul the evidence thus afforded to the belief in his time that St James the Lord's brother and the son of Alphæus were distinct persons. But with the marks of unscrupulous invention, as well as of ignorance and inattention, with which these narratives and professed documents abound, where is the proof that the writer followed any existing belief or tradition on this point, and did not rather excogitate the diversity of the two, from inability to reconcile otherwise the apparent diversity of parentage? And might not another reason be suspected in this devoted adherent to the Hierosolymite see, viz. a desire to distinguish St James its founder from the twelve Apostles, as in respect of kindred to Christ, and even in dignity, their superior? It is scarcely possible not to entertain such a suspicion, when we read in the best sustained of these fictitious narratives, the Recognitions of St Clement, how the Twelve, having holden disputations collectively and singly with Caiaphas in the temple⁶², go in a body

ποστόλους εἰς βεβήλωσιν τοῦ λόγου. καὶ προεβάλοντο Κλεόβιον τινα, καὶ παρέφευξαν τῷ Σίμωνι· οὗτοι δὲ μαθητεύουσι Δοσιθέῳ τινί, ὃν καὶ παρευδοκίμησαντες ἐξέσαντο τῆς ἀρχῆς. Εἶτα καὶ ἕτεροι ἐτέρων κατήρξαν ἐκτόπων δογμάτων, Κήρωνθος, καὶ Μάρκος, καὶ Μένανδρος, καὶ Βασιλείδης, καὶ Σατορνῖλος. Cotel. *Patres Apost.* Tom. I. p. 335; also Tom. II. pp. 222—225; and Usser. cap. 16, *Dissert. in Ignat.*

⁶¹ *Const. Apost.* Lib. VIII. cap. 33, Lib. II. cap. 57 (Cotel. Tom. I. pp. 262, 415, &c.).

⁶² *Vid.* S. Clementis *Recognit.* Lib. I. cap. 55—66, where, after each of the Apostles had taken an individual part in the dispute with the High Priest and Sanhedrim (that of St James the son of Alphæus being contained in cap. 59), and the debate being prorogued by an artful speech of Gamaliel in the council, who secretly favours the Christians, we then read in cap. 66, “Nos vero (Apostoli) cum venissemus ad Jacobum nostrum, omnia que dicta gesta que fuerant, exponentes, apud eum cibo sumpto mansimus, Omnipotenti Deo per totam noctem supplicantes, ut futuræ disputationis sermo indubitata fidei nostræ ostenderet veritatem. Igitur postero die Jacobus Episcopus nobiscum simul et cum omni Ecclesia ascendit ad templum, ubi ingentem reperimus multitudinem, a medio noctis expectantem nos. Stetimus ergo in locis, quibus et prius; ut eminentius stantes ab universo populo cerneremur. Cumque esset summum silentium factum, Gamaliel, qui ut supra diximus nostræ fidei erat, dispensatione vero manebat inter ipsos, ...prior omnium Episcopum Jacobum intuens hoc modo allocutus est.” Then after his speech we read, cap. 68, “Hæc dicens Gamaliel, non valde placebat Caiaphæ...subridens enim

to St James the Bishop to render him an account of their conference, and all this preparatory to their attending *him* the following day to the same sacred place, where he as *Prince of Christian Bishops* holds the crowning disputation with the High Priest of the Jews. But whatever might be the motive of either inventing or believing this distinction of the first Bishop of Jerusalem from the Apostle St James the Less, the attestation of such an author to their diversity can weigh but very little against that of St Clement of Alexandria to the contrary tradition of their identity, which we have already cited and traced higher in the fragment of Papias⁶³. For the rest, it is remarkable that these pseudo-Clementine writings never state expressly that St James was the brother of our Lord by being the son of Joseph: though such was probably the meaning of their author, as of that sillier but not more inventive writer who composed the Protevangelium.

The other assertors of this parentage of St James, and this diversity from both the Apostles of the same name, are more respectable, but more recent than the foregoing. The most circumstantial amongst them, Eusebius, in one of his hermeneutical writings⁶⁴ adopts the above pseudo-Clementine notion of four-

ad ea quæ Gamaliel dixerat, *Jacobum Episcoporum principem Sacerdotum princeps* orabat, ut de Christo non aliunde sermo quam de Scripturis fieret; ut sciamus, inquit, utrum Jesus ipse sit Christus an non. Tunc Jacobus, Primo, inquit, requiramus," &c. &c. And in this strain, the presidency on the Christian side over all the twelve Apostles being as distinctly assigned to St James, as that on the Jewish side over the Sanhedrim to the High Priest, the debate proceeds to its tumultuous conclusion, cap. 70 (Cotelier. *Patr. Apost.* Tom. I. pp. 501—504, ed. Antverp. 1698).

⁶³ *Vid. sup.* pp. 229—231. That the contrary opinion had its source in the pseudo-Clementine writings, was suggested long since by our admirable Bishop Pearson (*Lectiones in Act. Apost.* p. 58), "Quantum ego quidem observare possum, *sententia illa quæ statuit Jacobum Hierosolymitanum Episcopum non fuisse unum ex Apostolis, e fictitiis scriptis Clementi attributis profecta est*: nam apud consarcinatorum Constitutionum Apostolicarum de industria ab Apostolis sæpe distinguitur: neque aliter in libris Recognitionum eidem Clementi ascriptis repræsentatur."

⁶⁴ On Isaiah xvii. 6; where having expounded the "gleaning grapes" to denote the heads of the small faithful remnant in Israel, whom the coming of the Lord should discover "as the shaking of the olive tree" (agreeably to Rom. ix. 29; xi. 16, 17, 24), he makes the "two or three berries in the top of the uppermost bough" to be the most eminent of the Apostles, sometimes designated in the Gospels as two, but more frequently as three, viz. St Peter and the two sons of Zebedee; while the remaining Apostles who carried the Gospel to distant nations are the four or five "in the outmost fruitful branches thereof." And then, with far less reason to support him, he states that the sum of these four numbers, 2 + 3 + 4 + 5 makes up 14, the number of the Apostles, when St Paul and the first Bishop of Jerusalem are added to them. Ἡ ὡς ῥῶγες ἐλαίας δύο ἢ τρεῖς ἐπ' ἀκροῦ μετέωρου, ἢ τέσσαρες ἢ πέντε ἐπὶ τῶν κλάδων αὐτῶν καταλειφθῶσι: τοσαύτην γὰρ φησὶν ἔσεσθαι σπάνιν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ σωθησομένων κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους οὓς ἡ προφητεία σημαίνει, ὡς ἐνὶ στάχυν παραβάλλεσθαι τοὺς πάντας

teen Apostles, viz. the twelve "primary ones" called by our Lord (with the substitution of Matthias for the traitor), and Paul "in no wise their inferior," and James the brother of the Lord; who is said to have received from the Saviour himself the bishopric of Jerusalem. The same writer, in his Ecclesiastical History, when relating the appearance of our Lord to St James after the resurrection, expressly distinguishes him from the number of the twelve Apostles; and when the Scripture on which he is commenting (1 Cor. xv. 7) adds that our Lord was afterwards seen "by all the Apostles," he contends that in that verse the word must be understood in the larger sense in which it included St James and St Paul, *i.e.* the fourteen instead of the twelve mentioned in the 5th verse⁶⁵. In a subsequent part of his history, when relating the appointment of St James the Just to the episcopate of Jerusalem, he states that he was called the brother of the Lord, because he was, like Him, reputed or called the son of Joseph: and to this account (which

τοὺς δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐξαιρέτους τοσούτους ἔσσεσθαι τινας, ὥσπερ εἰ ῥώγας ἐλαίας δύο ἢ τρεῖς τοὺς ἐπ' ἄκρον μετεώρον· αἰνιττομένου τοῦ λόγου τοὺς ἀκροτάτους τῶν ἀποστόλων, οὓς ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ συζυγίαν ὁ Σωτὴρ προσεκαλεῖτο, ποτὲ δὲ τρεῖς· οὓς ἡ γραφὴ τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου ἐκλεκτοτέρους εἰσήγαγε· λέγω δὴ Πέτρον καὶ Ἰάκωβον καὶ Ἰωάννην, οὓς ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος ἀνῆγαγε μόνους, ἱστορήσαντας τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀναβιωσκούσης θυγατρὸς τοῦ ἀρχισυναγῆγου παρέλαβε· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ παρὰ τοὺς τρεῖς τούτους, οἱ τέσσαρες εἰσι καὶ πέντε· καὶ τοὺς τέσσαρας καὶ τοὺς πέντε δέκα καὶ τέσσαρας ποιήσει τοὺς πάντας, ὧν δώδεκα μὲν τοὺς πρώτους ἀποστόλους εἶποις ἀν εἶναι, οὐκ ἐλάττω δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν ἀρετὴν Παῦλον, καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα κλητὸν ἀπόστολον, καὶ τὸν Ἰάκωβον γεγενῆσθαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, ὃς πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἱεροσολύμων ἐκκλησίας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταστήσῃαι τοῦ Σωτῆρος μνημονεύεται· κ.τ.λ. Eusebii Cæsariensis *Comment. in Esaiam*, ap. Montfaucon, *Coll. Nov. Patrum*, Tom. II. p. 422.

⁶⁵ Euseb. *Hist. Eccl. Lib. i. cap. 12*. Καὶ τῶν ἐβδομήκοντα δὲ πλείους τοῦ Σωτῆρος πεφηνῆναι μαθητὰς εὖροις ἀν ἐπιτηρήσας, μάρτυρι χρώμενος τῷ Παύλῳ, μετὰ τὴν ἐκ νεκρῶν ἔγερσιν ὥφθαι αὐτὸν φήσαντι πρῶτον μὲν Κηφᾶ, ἔπειτα τοῖς δώδεκα, καὶ μετὰ τούτους ἐπάνω πεντακοσιοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐφάπαξ. ὧν τινὰς μὲν ἔφασκε κεκοιμήσθαι, τοὺς πλείους δ' ἔτι τῷ βίῳ καθ' ὃν καιρὸν αὐτῷ ταῦτα συνετάττετο, περιέειπε. Ἐπειτα δ' ὥφθαι αὐτὸν Ἰακώβῳ φησὶν· εἰς δὲ καὶ οὗτος τῶν φερομένων (τοῦ Σωτῆρος μαθητῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ) ἀδελφῶν ἦν. Εἰθ' ὡς παρὰ τούτους κατὰ μίμῃσιν τῶν δώδεκα πλείστων ὅσων ὑπαρξάντων ἀποστόλων, ὅσος καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Παῦλος ἦν, προστίθῃσι λέγων, Ἐπειτα ὥφθη τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πᾶσι. This comment of Eusebius, that St Paul means to include himself among the Apostles of verse 7, is most completely refuted by the next verse, which the historian reserves to the period of St Paul's conversion. (The words in brackets are only found in one MS., and are most probably interpolated.) The contemporary Bishop, St Cyril of Jerusalem, in his 14th catechetical lecture, comments on the same passage of St Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 5—8, treating successively the evidence to the Lord's resurrection afforded by Cephas, by the twelve, by the five hundred brethren, by St James his brother and first Bishop of the author's see (τῷ ἐαυτοῦ μὲν ἀδελφῷ, ἐπισκόπῳ δὲ πρώτῳ τῆς παροικίας ταύτης), and by St Paul who was his enemy. S. Cyrilli Hierosol. *Opp.* p. 152, ed. Paris, 1640. But it cannot be concluded, either from this or from another passage in the 4th lecture (*Ib.* p. 34), commenting on St James's decision in Acts xv. 13, that Cyril, like Eusebius, excluded our Lord's brother from the Twelve. For if so, is not Cephas excluded also?

might leave it doubtful whether Eusebius did think St James the actual son of Joseph) he immediately annexes, what is singularly inconsistent with his formerly expressed opinion, the passage of St Clement's Hypotyposes, which identifies St James the Just with the Apostle James the son of Alphæus⁶⁶. A similar inconsistency has been suspected by some in Origen; who, in respect of time, is intermediate between his master Clement and Eusebius: for while, from the passage above quoted from his Commentary on St Matthew, he should seem decidedly to stand by the opinion of the former, inasmuch as he mentions St James the Just without qualification as one of the Apostles, and treats the opinion of his being the son of Joseph both as the sentiment of a minority among right-minded Christians, and as founded on apocryphal traditions, there is a passage cited as his in the Catena on St John, where he speaks with more favour of this opinion, almost as if it were his own⁶⁷. Again, in his first book against Celsus, he remarks that St James the Just, for whose unrighteous murder Josephus acknowledges the extremity of vengeance was merited by Jerusalem, was termed our Lord's brother by St Paul and others, "not so much on account of their near kindred and being brought up together, as from a conformity of manners and discourse⁶⁸."

⁶⁶ Euseb. *H. E.* Lib. II. cap. I. Τότε δὴτα καὶ Ἰάκωβον τὸν τοῦ Κυρίου λεγόμενον ἀδελφὸν, ὅτι δὴ καὶ οὗτος τοῦ Ἰωσήφ ὠνόμαστο παῖς· τοῦ δὲ Χριστοῦ πατὴρ ὁ Ἰωσήφ, ὃ μνηστευθεῖσα ἡ παρθένος, πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτούς, εὐρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου, ὡς ἡ ἱερὰ τῶν εὐαγγελίων διδάσκει γραφή· τοῦτον δὴ οὖν αὐτὸν Ἰάκωβον, ὃν καὶ Δίκαιον ἐπέκλην οἱ πάλοι δι' ἀρετῆς ἐκάλουν προτερήματα, πρῶτον ἱστοροῦσι τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας τὸν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐγχειρισθῆναι θρόνον. Κλήμης δέ..... Here follows the passage of St Clement of Alexandria, most opposed to the sentiment of James being the son of Joseph, which was cited before, note 32, p. 231. And Eusebius himself certainly says no more here, than that St James had been accounted the son of Joseph, even as our Lord was: and as he certainly believed Jesus to be no son of Joseph himself, but miraculously born of the Virgin, it is not impossible, though perhaps improbable, that he may have assigned another earthly father in his own mind to St James.

⁶⁷ Corderii, *Catena in Joan.* II. 12 (p. 75, Antwerp. 1630), ΩΡΙΓΕΝΟΥΣ. Ζητεῖται παρὰ πολλοῖς περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἰησοῦ, πῶς εἶχε τούτους, τῆς Μαρίας μέχρι τελευτῆς παρθένου διαμεινάσης. Ἀδελφοὺς μὲν οὐκ εἶχε φύσει, οὔτε τῆς παρθένου τεκούσης ἕτερον, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἐκ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ τυγχάνων· νόμῳ τοιγαροῦν ἐχρημάτισαν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοί, υἱοὶ Ἰωσήφ ὄντες ἐκ προτεθνηκυίας γυναικὸς, καὶ ἐπεὶ καθ' ὁμολογίας γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ Μαρία ἐχρημάτισε. This passage, the latter part of which stands strangely contrasted with that quoted in note 51, p. 242 *sup.* from Origen's Commentary on St Matthew, does not occur in his regular Commentary on St John; where he attaches himself to a totally different view of that passage, John ii. 12, inquiring whether by Christ's brethren in that place we may not mystically understand certain powers which accompanied Him in the descent from Cana to Capernaum (כפר נחום, the village of consolation). Origenis Opera, Tom. IV. p. 168.

⁶⁸ Orig. *adv. Cels.* Lib. I. (p. 35, ed. Spen.) Ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῳ τῆς

But in assigning this reason why this honorific epithet was more peculiarly bestowed on the first Bishop of Jerusalem than on others, such as Joses and the rest, who might have been equally termed our Lord's brethren, Origen means no more to deny that kindred or that early community of education, as he has sometimes been perversely understood, than in his often excessive allegorization of Scripture facts to deny altogether their historical truth. This is no more to be inferred in his case than in that of Jerome; who, notwithstanding his very definite belief as to James's near kindred to Jesus, yet makes precisely the same remark as Origen, viz. that St Paul calls him the Lord's brother *propter egregios mores, et incomparabilem fidem, et sapientiam non mediam* (in Gal. i. 19).

It is in the generation following that of Eusebius, that we find the most powerful authorities in the Church for this opinion respecting our Lord's brethren. Even in the Western Church we find it mentioned with approval by St Hilary of Poitiers and St Ambrose⁶⁹: an approval quite solitary indeed among the

Ἰουδαϊκῆς ἀρχαιολογίας ὁ Ἰώσηπος μαρτυρεῖ τῷ Ἰωάννῃ, ὡς βαπτιστῇ γεγεννημένῳ, καὶ καθάρσιον τοῖς βαπτισαμένοις ἐπαγγελλομένῳ. Ὁ δ' αὐτὸς, καίτοιγε ἀπιστῶν τῷ Ἰησοῦ ὡς Χριστῷ, ζητῶν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων πτώσεως, καὶ τῆς τοῦ ναοῦ καθαιρέσεως, δέον αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἡ κατὰ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἐπιβουλὴ τούτων αἰτία γέγονε τῷ λαῷ, ἐπεὶ ἀπέκτειναν τὸν προφητευόμενον Χριστόν, ὁ δὲ καὶ ὥσπερ ἄκων οὐ μακρὰν τῆς ἀληθείας γένόμενος, φησὶ ταῦτα συμβεβηκέναι τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις κατ' ἐκδίκησιν Ἰακώβου τοῦ Δακαίου, ὃς ἦν ἀδελφὸς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ λεγομένου Χριστοῦ, ἐπειδήπερ δικαίω-
 ταν αὐτὸν ὄντα ἀπέκτειναν. Τὸν δὲ Ἰάκωβον τοῦτον ὁ Ἰησοῦ γνήσιος μαθητὴς Πιλλῶς φησὶν ἐωρακέναι ὡς ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου, οὐ τοσοῦτον διὰ τὸ πρὸς αἵματος συναγγενὲς, ἢ τὴν κοινὴν αὐτῶν ἀνατροφὴν, ὅσον διὰ τὸ ἦθος καὶ τὸν λόγον. The λόγος of St James, as evinced by the style of his Epistle, has one striking similarity to that of our Lord, in the perpetual recurrence to physical illustrations of moral and spiritual truth: while his ἦθος and general deportment may well be conceived to bear some peculiar marks of their near family connexion and early intercourse with each other; such as to attach a special significance to the term "brother of the Lord," when applied to him.

⁶⁹ See the passage of St Hilary quoted in note 50, p. 241, *sup.* That of St Ambrose indicates his sense of the probability of the same solution, while at the same time denying its necessity, and hinting at the truer one as equally possible, viz. the less strict use of the term brother. For after giving examples of this, he says, '*Potuerunt autem et fratres esse ex Joseph non ex Maria. Quod quidem siquis diligentius prosequatur, inveniet. Nos ea persequenda non putavimus, quoniam fraternum nomen liquet pluribus esse commune.*' S. Ambros. *de Institutione Virginis*, cap. 6. Here, whatever may be the conclusion which "the more diligent investigator will discover," whether it be the *fact* of St James and the rest being sons of Joseph, or (as I should rather think) the *possibility* of the children respectively of Mary and of Joseph being properly called, by virtue of their espousal, brethren; still on either supposition it is clear that no decisive tradition on the subject is here appealed to by the holy Bishop of Milan. It is a hermeneutical speculation as to the import of the term "*fratres*" in the Gospel. In the sequel of the same passage (cap. 7) St Ambrose, like St Hilary, proves the perpetual virginity of Mary, from her being commended by Christ on the cross to

Latin Fathers, but apparently testifying to the not uncommon reception of this solution in their time. But the apocryphal source of the opinion is strongly indicated by a recently published monument of that age, the Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians by Victorinus the Philosopher, whose wonderful conversion in old age to the faith of Christ from the highest honours of heathen wisdom is celebrated in one of the most noble and touching passages of St Augustine's Confessions⁷⁰. The following is the singular exposition of that ingenious person on Gal. i. 18, 19 (a passage of Scripture which we have alleged as demonstrative of an opinion directly contrary)⁷¹. "After

St John. But the argument with him is further spoiled by the idea that Joseph was yet living (an idea which we see in the tragedy *Christus patiens*, where St Joseph is among the persons of the drama, and elsewhere). "Dignum quippe erat ut qui latroni veniam donabat, matrem dubio pudoris absolveret. Dicit ergo ad matrem, *Mater ecce filius tuus*. Dicit ad discipulum, *Ecce mater tua*. Ipse est discipulus cui mater commendabatur. Quomodo marito uxorem tolleret, si fuerat Maria mixta conjugio, aut usum thori conjugalis agnoverat?" S. Ambros. *Oper.* Tom. II. pp. 260, 261, ed. Benedict.). If for *marito uxorem* we substitute *filius matrem*, the argument is unquestionable.

⁷⁰ S. Aug. *Confess.* Lib. VIII. cap. 2 (pp. 135—140, English edition, Oxf. 1838), *Opp.* Tom. I. pp. 145—8, ed. Benedict. See also S. Hieron. *Catal. Script. Ecclesiast.* The Commentaries of Victorinus on the Epistles to the Galatians, Philipians, and Ephesians, together with a treatise of the same author *de Physicis*, vindicating from pagan objection the Christian truths of the Creation and of the Divine Incarnation, are published from Vatican MSS. in the 3rd Volume of *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio*, edita ab Ang. Maio. Romæ, 1828.

⁷¹ Victorini Philosophi in *Ep. Pauli ad Galatas*, Lib. I. (pp. 9, 10, ed. Ang. Maii, ut sup.). "Post tres, inquit, annos Hierosolymam veni: deinde subjungit causam, *videre Petrum*. Etenim si in Petro fundamentum ecclesiæ positum est, ut in Evangelio dictum, qui revelata erant omnia Paulus scivit videre se debere Petrum, quasi eum cui tanta auctoritas a Christo data esset, non ut ab eo aliquid disceret. Denique quid subjungit? *et mansi apud eum diebus quindecim*: ergo mansi tantum. Nunquid paucis diebus tantam istam de Deo scientiam tam parvo tempore a Petro potui discere? *Alium autem Apostolorum neminem vidi, nisi Jacobum fratrem Domini*. Magna doctrina etiam hoc adjunxit, magnoque ingenio: primo quod ita dixit, *APOSTOLORUM neminem alium vidi*: nam Jacobum Apostolum Symmachiani faciunt quasi duodecimum; et hunc sequuntur qui ad Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum adjungunt Judaismi observantiam, quanquam etiam Jesum Christum fatentur: dicunt enim eum ipsum Adam esse, et esse animam generalem, et alia hujusmodi blasphemata. Ergo hic Paulus negavit Jacobum Apostolum, dicendo, *Alium autem Apostolorum neminem vidi*; quod neminem Apostolum alium vidisse se dixit, *nisi Jacobum*. Et causa quare *Jacobum*? adjecta est; *fratrem Domini*, qui frater habitus secundum carnem. Cum autem *fratrem* dixit, *Apostolum* negavit. Videndus autem hic fuerat honorifice; sed neque a Jacobo aliquid discere potuit, quippe cum alia sentiat. At neque a Petro, vel quod paucis diebus cum Petro moratus est,.....vel quod Jacobus Apostolus non est, et in hæresi sit. Adjecit autem et *Jacobum*. Vidi ergo nominatim quid Jacobus tractet et evangelizet; et tamen quoniam cognita mihi est ista blasphemiam, repudiata a me est, sicut et a vobis, O Galatæ, repudianda. Non enim potestis dicere 'negas Jacobum, et inde quæ nos sequimur repudias, quia non vidisti Jacobum.' Adjecit ergo *vidi et Jacobum*: nec error est, quem Jacobum: *fratrem* inquit *Domini*, id est auctorem sententiæ vestræ. Ita nihil apud me valuit," &c. In this interpretation of *et nisi* or *nisi* in Gal. i. 19, not as *excepting* but *contrasting*, Victorinus has some modern commentators, as Grotius, with him.

“three years, says St Paul, *I came to Jerusalem*, and he adds
 “the cause, *to see Peter*. For if the foundation of the Church
 “was laid in Peter, as we are told in the Gospel, Paul, to whom
 “all things had been revealed, knew that he ought to see
 “Peter, as being the Apostle to whom so great authority had
 “been given by Christ, but not for the purpose of learning any
 “thing from him. What, then, does he subjoin? *And I abode*
 “*with him fifteen days*, *i. e.* so many and no more: could I then
 “have acquired from Peter the degree of knowledge of God that
 “I possess in so short a time as those few days? *But other of*
 “*the Apostles saw I none save James the Lord's brother*. With
 “great knowledge and great address is this added by him; first,
 “in that he says, *I saw no other of the Apostles*: for the Sym-
 “machians make James, as it were, a supernumerary Apostle,
 “and all those who to the doctrine of our Lord add the observ-
 “ance of Judaism profess to follow him as their master, though
 “confessing Jesus Christ at the same time; for they say that
 “he is Adam himself, and the soul of the human race, and
 “other such like blasphemies. Therefore it is that Paul dis-
 “claims James as an Apostle, saying that he saw no other
 “Apostle (beside Peter) but only James; and why James? he
 “adds the reason, calling him *the Lord's brother*, because he
 “was so accounted according to the flesh. While calling him a
 “*brother* (of Christ) he denies him to be an Apostle. He, how-
 “ever (as well as Peter) was to be seen with respect; but neither
 “from him could Paul learn any thing, because his sentiments
 “(as to Jewish observances) differed from his. Thus neither
 “from Peter did he learn, were it only on account of the
 “shortness of his abode with him; nor yet from James, but for
 “this reason, that he was no Apostle, and was in heresy. Yet
 “he adds, *and (I saw) James*; for I thus saw distinctly what
 “James treated of and preached as Gospel: and because this
 “impious sentiment was known, therefore was it repudiated by
 “me, and ought to be equally repudiated, O Galatians, by you.
 “For you cannot now say, Thou deniest James, and rejectest
 “consequently the doctrine we follow, because thou hast not
 “seen him. Therefore he adds, *I saw James also*: and that
 “there may be no mistake, he says further, *James the brother of*
 “*the Lord*, *i. e.* the first promulgator of your opinion: so desti-
 “tute of authority was he with me.” The deficient acquaintance

with the principles of sacred literature which Jerome⁷² discovers in this profoundly learned man but late convert, and which he imputes to this work on the Galatians more particularly, is strongly exemplified in the midst of the curious information of the above extract. Here the commentator unhesitatingly imputes to the venerable brother of the Lord the heretical opinions and practices of his pretended followers the Symmachians (adducing soon afterwards, as an apparently strong confirmation of his view, the fact stated in the 12th verse of the next chapter⁷³); and, believing them also as to the extra-apostolic character of their professed master, on which the apocry-

⁷² D. Hieronymus in *Proœmio in Ep. ad Galatas, ad Paulam et Eustochium*. "Aggrediar opus intentatum ante me linguæ nostræ scriptoribus, et a Græcis quoque ipsis vix paucis, ut rei poscebat dignitas, usurpatum. Non quia ignorem Caium Marium Victorinum, qui Romæ pueros rhetoricam docuit, edidisse commentarios in Apostolum; sed quod occupatus ille eruditione secularium literarum Scripturas omnino sanctas ignoraverit; et nemo possit quamvis eloquens de eo bene disputare quod nesciat..." Again, in *Catalogo Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*: "Victorinus, natione Afer, Romæ sub Constantio principe rhetoricam docuit: et in extrema senectute Christi se tradens fidei, scripsit adversus Arium libros more dialectico valde obscuros, qui nisi ab eruditis non intelliguntur, et commentarios in Apostolum." The charge of obscurity however does not reach to this commentary; and that of ignorance of Scripture is, as usual with Jerome's vituperations, too unqualified.

⁷³ Victorin. in *Ep. ad Gal.* p. 16: "*Prius enim inquit, antequam venirent quidam a Jacobo, cum Gentibus edebat* (Petrus) tenens Evangelium integrum, et regulam ejus, ut æqualiter de Christo adnuntiatur et Judæis et Gentibus, et non observetur cibus Judæorum, sed vivatur simpliciter more gentium. Hoc prius, inquit, faciebat Petrus, antequam ab Jacobo venirent quidam. Jacobus enim frater Domini, qui auctor est ad Symmachianos, primus apud Hierosolimam sibi hoc adsumendum putavit, uti et Christum prædicaret, et viveret ut Judæi, omnia faciens quæ Judæorum lex præcipit, id est quæ sibi Judæi observanda intellexerunt. Ab Jacobo ergo quidam cum venissent ad Petrum, *veritus, inquit et timens subtraxit se*, ne cum Gentibus ederet." Here again the hostility of James to St Paul's doctrine is hastily inferred from the circumstance that certain Jewish brethren attached to him gave occasion to St Peter's dissimulation. The Symmachians, whose account of their professed teacher St James is thus again rashly credited by Victorinus, are but the old humanitarian Ebionites under another name, so called from Symmachus, the new Greek translator of the Old Testament, who apostatized to their party from Catholic Christianity (Euseb. *H. E.* Lib. vi. capp. 16, 17). This name of the sect seems to have been common in Africa, as we find from Faustus the Manichean saying, "*Et tamen hoc si mihi Nazæorum objiceret quisquam, quos alii Symmachianos vocant*, quod Jesus dixerit, non se venisse solvere legem." Augustine, in his reply, attested their continued existence, but in inconsiderable numbers, to his time. See also the Pseudo-Ambrose's preface to the Epistle to the Galatians, where the Symmachians are said to be the offspring of the Pharisees, though themselves Christians, and adopting the Photinian impiety of the mere humanity of our Lord (see S. Augustin. *Opp.* Tom. viii. pp. 314, 323; and *Appendix ad S. Ambros. Opp.* p. 210, Tom. ii. ed. Benedict.). The present and the preceding extract of Victorinus (p. 251, *sup.*) furnish us also with a further instructive testimony to the tendencies of this degrading heresy to unite with itself some of the worst portions of its apparently opposite extreme, Gnosticism. How absurdly, as well as falsely, St James is himself implicated in the blasphemies of his pretended followers, was certainly not apparent, as it ought to have been, to this late African convert, fresh from the contemplation of Gentile schools and their leaders.

phal gospels are singularly agreed, he endeavours to support their historical view by a forced criticism of the Scriptural text that confutes it. The great authority of St Jerome in the subsequent age, the strength of the arguments by which he confuted the notion of a third James, and the concurrence of St Augustine also in the same view, had the effect of extinguishing this opinion in the Western Church⁷⁴. The Latin ecclesiastical services have never known more than two of our Lord's contemporaries bearing the name of James. Beside St James the son of Zebedee, whose martyrdom we celebrate on the 25th of July, we have but him who is commemorated with St Philip on the 1st of May, the son of Alphæus, who was called the brother of the Lord, and was the first bishop of Jerusalem.

In the East the course of opinion has been different. For though the sentiment maintained by the contemporaries of Hilary and Ambrose, St Epiphanius, St Gregory of Nyssa, and others⁷⁵, found opponents, as real though not as vehement as

⁷⁴ D. Hieronymus in *Matt.* xii. 49. "Quidam fratres Domini de alia uxore Josephi filios suspicantur, SEQUENTES DELIRAMENTA APOCRYPHORUM, et a quadam Escha muliercula confingentes. Nos autem, sicut libro quem contra Helvidium scripsimus continetur, fratres Domini non filios Joseph, sed *consobrinos Salvatoris Mariæ liberos* intelligimus *materterce Domini*, quæ esse dicitur mater Jacobi minoris et Joseph [Josis] et Judæ, quos in alio Evangelii loco fratres Domini legimus appellatos: fratres autem consobrinos dici omnis Scriptura demonstrat." Before reading St Jerome's arguments, St Augustine had been doubtful on this point; for so he expresses himself, while yet a presbyter, commenting on Gal. i. 19: "Jacobus Domini frater *vel ex filiis Josephi de alia uxore, vel ex cognatione Mariæ matris ejus debet intelligi.*" (*Opp.* Tom. III. Part 2, p. 946.) But he afterwards repeatedly declares his mind as fully made up for the latter of these two solutions against the former: viz. in his treatise *Against Faustus*, Lib. XXII. cap. 35; in his *Questions on St Matthew's Gospel*, No. 17 and ult.; and in his *Exposition on St John's Gospel*, Tractat. x. § 2, also XXVIII. § 3 ("Consanguinei Virginis Mariæ fratres Domini dicebantur"). *Opp.* Tom. VIII. p. 272, and Tom. III. pp. 207, 268, 369. Against the universality of the sentiment in the West, since the age of Jerome and Augustine, Venerable Bede has been cited (Combef. *ad Hippolyt.* p. 36), because he says, "Prædicaturi per Judæam Apostoli, Jacobum fratrem Domini Hierosolymis ordinant Episcopum." But how little this concludes against Bede's holding, with Clement and Jerome, that James was himself one of the twelve, may be seen from note 38, p. 234 *sup.* The attempt is more successful with a writer of inferior note, Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who, in his notes on the Acts of the so-called 8th Council, in the 9th century, writes, "Jacobus frater Domini primus Sacerdos eorum qui non a Domino sed ab Apostolis ordinati sunt:" also Ambrosiaster in Gal. i. 19. But such inconsiderable instances scarcely impair the universality of St Jerome's opinion in the Western Church till the 16th century. Since then, indeed, some even of the Roman Church have thought the opinion of the triple James more probable. Its antiquity has been zealously defended against Cardinal Baronius by F. Combefis, in his notes on Hippolytus on the *Twelve Apostles* (though that work itself is a strong authority for the contrary sentiment); and it is maintained by the Jesuit Bollandus in the *Acta Sanctorum* 1 Maii.

⁷⁵ See the passage of Epiphanius quoted in note 50, p. 241, *sup.* St Gregory of Nyssa, in a place already referred to (p. 232, *sup.*) in his Homily on the Resurrection, speaks of the Blessed Virgin, according to this hypothesis, as the *step-*

Jerome, in St Chrysostom and Theodoret, who distinctly treat it as a vulgar error that St James and the rest were children of Joseph, and who, in accordance with St Clement of Alexandria and the older tradition, pronounce them to be the sons of *Clopas*⁷⁶; the story of the Protevangelium was ever there in greater

mother, and thence called the *mother*, of James, Joses, and the rest. For thus he makes her (instead of her sister of John xix. 25) the Mary of Matt. xxvii. 56, and Mark xv. 40: Ειστήκεισαν δὲ παρὰ τῷ σταυρῷ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἡ μητὴρ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρία ἡ τοῦ Κλεοῦ [Κλωπᾶ] καὶ Μαρία ἡ Μαγδαληνῆ. Μαριάμ γὰρ τὴν Ἰακώβου καὶ Ἰωσή μητέρα παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐαγγελισταῖς ὠνομασμένην, τὴν Θεοτόκον εἶναι καὶ οὐκ ἄλλην πεπιστεύκαμεν. Καθάπερ γὰρ διὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν καὶ τῷ ἐπισκiasθῆναι τὸν θεῖον τόκον, καὶ μὴ φανερωθῆναι τοῖς μαιφόνους Ἰουδαίους παρ' αὐτὸ τὸ μέλλειν ἐπὶ τὴν πασάδα ἀγεσθαί τὴν Παρθένον ἐκ Πνεύματος ἁγίου συλλαβεῖν ἀναγέγραπται. ὥς ἄνδρα ταύτης χρηματίσαι τὸν Ἰωσήφ, καὶ πατέρα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ· τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τοῦ Ἰωσή καὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβου παίδων ὄντων τοῦ τέκτονος Ἰωσήφ, παιδικὴν ἀγόντων τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐκ προηγησαμένων γάμων καὶ προτετελευκυίας γυναικὸς μητὴρ ἡ Θεοτόκος προσηγορεύετο τε καὶ ὠνομάζετο. (S. Greg. Nysseni, *Opp.* Tom. II. p. 844, D. ed. Par. 1618.) Here, though the argument concerning the concealment of the Virgin-mother from Jewish eyes, in the character of wife of Joseph, is most scriptural and true, the statement of her relation to James and the rest as a step-mother, and therefore called their mother (which we never read in any Scripture), is truly said by Jerome to be derived from *Apocryphorum deliramenta*. For example, we find this very statement in the Apocryphal History of Joseph the Carpenter, preserved to us in Arabic, where the Saviour is represented as saying "Therefore (i. e. by the priest's appointment) the just Joseph took my mother and brought her to his home: and there she found James the Less in his father's house, forlorn and wretched on account of his orphan estate (i. e. the recent death of his mother, the first wife of Joseph), and she brought him up, and was therefore called Mary the mother of James."

فَاَخَذَ يَوْسُفَ الصِّدِّيقَ اُمِّي وَجَاءَ بِهَا اِلَيَّ مَنْزِلَهِ فَوَجَدَتْ يَعْقُوبَ
صَغِيرًا فِي بَيْتِ اَبِيهِ وَهُوَ ذَلِيلٌ مَحْزُونٌ مِنْ اَجْلِ الْيَتَمِ فَرَبْتَهُ
مِنْ اَجْلِ هَذَا دَعَيْتُ مَرْيَمَ اُمَّ يَعْقُوبَ.

(Thilo. *Cod. Apocr.* Tom. I. p. 12.)

Whether the great St Basil thought with his brother Gregory on this point that James was the step-son of the Virgin, or with Theodoret and the Latins that he was her sister's son, we are not sure from his writings. We only know that he maintained with all these the perpetual virginity of Mary as a pious sentiment, though the verity of the Christian mystery only required her virginity till the birth of the Saviour: in a passage which will be noticed hereafter.

⁷⁶ Theodoretus in *Ep. ad Galat.* i. 19: Ἐτερον δὲ τῶν ἀποστόλων οὐκ εἶδον, εἰ μὴ Ἰακώβον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου. Ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν, οὐκ ἦν δὲ φύσει· οὕτε μὴν, ὥς τινες ὑπειλήφασιν, τοῦ Ἰωσήφ υἱὸς ἐτυγχάνειν ὢν, ἐκ προτέρων γάμων γενόμενος, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Κλωπᾶ μὲν ἦν υἱὸς, τοῦ δὲ Κυρίου ἀνεψιὸς· μητέρα γὰρ εἶχε τὴν ἀδελφὴν τῆς τοῦ Κυρίου μητέρας. *Opp.* Tom. III. p. 366. ed. Schulz. In thus enunciating the view which is alone sanctioned by Scripture, that St James's mother was the Virgin's sister and wife of Clopas, it is very observable that this learned Father states it with authority, in the commencement of the fifth century, as established truth; and represents the contrary sentiment, which was afterwards the prevalent one among the Greeks, as the opinion of some only. Exactly similar had been not long before the exposition of St Chrysostom on the same text, which may be advantageously compared with

favour than in the West, and even in the minds of ecclesiastical persons prevailed on this point over the deliberate judgment of their ablest expositors of Scripture, and the high authority of the sainted Archbishop of Constantinople. Hence, beside the festival of St James the Great the brother of St John, the Greek Church has two other feasts of St James, both in the month of October; viz. on the 23rd that of St James the Just and his well-known martyrdom in Jerusalem, and on the 9th that of "St James the son of Alphæus and brother of Matthew the publican," crucified on that day by certain idolaters whom he had enraged by the destruction of their idol-groves: an event which took place in Egypt, according to the legendary writer Nicephorus, while the preceding labours of this Apostle are said

that of Victorinus before quoted: "*Of the other Apostles (beside Peter whom he valued above all, and whom alone he went up to see) I saw none but James. I saw, he says, but I learnt nothing from him. Yet see with what honour he names him also: for he says not simply James, but adds also the honorific appellation, so free was he from all envy; for if he had merely wished to mark the man he meant, he might have made this clear by some other distinctive title, and called him, as the Evangelist did, the son of Clopas; he did not however thus speak, but inasmuch as he considered honorific titles as proper to the apostles, he magnifies him, as in so doing exalting himself: for he did not so call him, but how? the Lord's brother: although he was not according to the flesh actual brother of our Lord, but was so esteemed.*" Εἶδον, οὐκ ἐδιδάχθην, φησί, παρ' αὐτοῦ οὐδέν. Ἄλλ' ὅρα καὶ τοῦτον μεθ' ὅσης τιμῆς ὠνόμασεν· οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ἀπλῶς Ἰάκωβον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ σεμνολόγημα προσέθηκεν, οὕτω βασκανίας ἀπάσης ἀπηλλαγμένος ἦν· εἰ γὰρ σημῆναι ὃν ἔλεγεν ἤθελεν, ἐνῆν καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρου γνωρίσματος τοῦτο ποιῆσαι δῆλον, καὶ εἰπεῖν τὸν τοῦ Κλωπᾶ, ὅπερ καὶ ὁ Εὐαγγελιστὴς ἔλεγεν. ἀλλ' οὐκ εἶπεν οὕτως, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων σεμνολογήματα ἴδια εἶναι ἐνόμειεν, ὥς αὐτὸν ἐπαιρῶν, οὕτω σεμνύνει κἀκείνων· οὐ γὰρ ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν οὕτως, ὥς εἶπον, ἀλλὰ πῶς; τὸν ἀδελφὸν τοῦ Κυρίου. καίτοιγε οὐδὲ κατὰ σάρκα ἀδελφὸς ἦν τοῦ Κυρίου, ἀλλ' οὕτως ἐνομίετο (S. Joann. Chrysost. Opera, Tom. x. p. 676). Nothing can be more decisive than this passage for the Apostolate of St James the Just, and consequently his identity with the son of Alphæus; and therefore it is to no purpose that Blom (p. 113) accuses Credner and Kern of error for asserting that Chrysostom agreed with Clement of Alexandria in identifying Clopas and Alphæus; or that Combefis (*in notis Hyppolyt. de 12 Apost. p. 35*) alleges the passage in Chrysostom's 33rd Homily on St Matthew, where he represents the Apostle St James the Less as a publican like that Evangelist, viz. (his supposed brother) Levi the son of Alphæus: to which might have been added those passages, much more to the purpose, from the 5th Homily on St Matthew and the 48th on St John, where he directly enumerates St James our Lord's brother, even the future Just Bishop of Jerusalem, and St Jude also, among the infidel brethren of John vii. 5, and moralizes on their signal change of sentiment and character (*Opp. Tom. vii. p. 369 B. also p. 77 C, and Tom. viii. p. 284, C. D. E*). For though this is *inferentially* destructive of the Apostolate of our Lord's brother, as implying a conversion much later than that of the Twelve, yet as Chrysostom himself does not draw that inference, and seems unaware of it, these passages cannot neutralize either the explicit and deliberate statement which we have just cited at length, or the place in his 26th Homily on the Acts (xii. 2) where he says that St James the son of Zebedee is called the brother of John to distinguish him from James the brother of the Lord (ἐπεὶ καὶ ἕτερος Ἰάκωβος ἦν ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Κυρίου). The non-mention here of any third James son of Alphæus and brother of Matthew, amounts to a positive denial of his diversity from the second (*Opp. Tom. ix. p. 209 D*).

to have been in Gaza and Eleutheropolis of southern Palestine⁷⁷. The calendars of the Syrian and the Copto-Abyssinian Churches give likewise separate days (the 5th and the 26th of October) to St James the son of Alphæus and to the brother of our Lord⁷⁸: a matter of no surprise in these Churches when it is considered that they (like the Arian Whiston among ourselves) held the Apostolical Constitutions, that first broached this diversity, for canonical Scripture. But such was also without question the common sentiment of the Greeks also, after the 5th century⁷⁹; except for a singular attempt which we find in the 11th century to unite the older sentiment of Clement and Theodoret with the current assertion of the later Greek Church. That hypothesis is, that, Clopas dying childless, his brother Joseph

⁷⁷ So runs the Greek Menologium for St James the son of Alphæus:

Τὸν σταυρὸν Ἰάκωβος φέρων ἡδέως

Ὡς ἔστι, Σῶτερ, ἀξίός σου, δεικνύει.

Ἀμφ' ἐννῆγ' Ἰάκωβος ἐνὶ σταυρῷ τετανύσται (scil. 9 Octob.)

ὁς ἦν ἀδελφὸς Μαρθαλοῦ τοῦ τελῶνου καὶ εὐαγγελιστοῦ κ.τ.λ.—thus combining this assertion of brotherhood to St Matthew with the opinion to which it is most accordant, the diversity from St James the Lord's brother. These legends of St James the son of Alphæus are found in no older writer than Nicetas David, the Paphlagonian, in the 9th century; and therefore *this Apostle is left*, on the hypothesis of his diversity from St James the Just, *without any earlier notice whatever in ecclesiastical history*. See also the account of St James son of Alphæus in Niceph. *H. E.* lib. ii. cap. 40, and Combefis in *Hippolyt.* p. 35. With respect to St James the Just, the Lord's brother, the same Nicephorus had given, as from St Hippolytus of Portus, but in reality from Hippolytus of Thebes, an elaborate genealogy of him and his brothers Simon, Jude, and Josés, with his sisters Esther and Martha, as children of Joseph by his former wife Salome related to Zacharias the priest. We have had occasion to notice before (pp. 210, 230) this intrinsically worthless testimony, only indicating the belief of the Greeks in the 10th century, and its contrariety to the testimony of the older Hippolytus (p. 230) concerning the same St James as the Apostle and son of Alphæus (*Hippolyt. Theb. Chron.* p. 59, ed. Fabric.). Perhaps this fabled alliance with the house of Aaron, as well as the other apocryphal assertions of Joseph's priestly character, might have been produced by a wish to verify the story of St James's pontifical dignity being recognized by the Jews. But if it be possible to justify Hegesippus's statements on that head (*ap. Euseb. H. E.* ii. 23), the true parentage of St James supplies a much better occasion for so doing. The true father Clopas, the husband of the Virgin's sister, whom that ancient author states to be Joseph's brother, might be merely a uterine brother, and a priest of the tribe of Levi: so that the sacerdotal tribe and character *might* thus belong to St James. See on this subject Tillemont, *Tom. i., Notes sur St Jacques le Mineur*, p. 623 seq.

⁷⁸ Combefis in *Hippolyt.* p. 35. See also the Calendar of the Æthiopic and Coptic Christians in Ludolf. *Comment. in Hist. Æthiop.* pp. 393, 395, where in the hagiology of the latter we have the 5th of Babeh, or October, assigned to St James the son of Alphæus *يعقوب بن حلفا*, and the 26th to St James the Lord's brother *يعقوب اخو الرب*.

⁷⁹ It must be by mistake that Tillemont, *Mémoires Ecclesiastiques*, *Tom. i.* p. 621, cites the Alexandrine Chronicle of Rader (but more truly called the Chronicon Paschale by later editors) as an exception to this current sentiment of the Greeks: for that Chronicle distinctly and repeatedly speaks of St James as the son of Joseph by a former wife.

according to the Jewish law begat of his widow Mary, James, Joses, Simon, and Jude, with two sisters, who were therefore legally children of Clopas, though naturally children of Joseph. This hypothesis, propounded by Theophylact, which is utterly gratuitous and improbable, and especially revolting when it is considered that the Mary of whom these six children were begotten must have been the sister of Joseph's subsequently affianced wife, and her companion thirty years after, was as destitute of followers as of precedent authority, and deserves no further notice⁸⁰.

We have now gone through the ecclesiastical testimony on this head, as far as it can be conceived to bear on the probabilities of the original tradition. And on this view of the case of our Lord's brethren both from Scripture and antiquity, in which nothing either of apparent ambiguity, or of discordant testimony,

⁸⁰ Theophylact in *Matt. xiii. 55* (*Opp. Tom. i. p. 71, E. ed. Venet. 1754*): 'Ἀδελφούς δὲ καὶ ἀδελφὰς εἶχεν ὁ Κύριος, τοὺς τοῦ Ἰωσήφ παῖδας, οὓς ἔτεκεν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ Κλοπᾶ γυναῖκός· τοῦ γὰρ Κλοπᾶ ἀπαιδὸς τελευτήσαντος, ὁ Ἰωσήφ ἔλαβε κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐπαίδουποίησεν ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδας ἑξ, τέσσαρας ἄρρενας, καὶ δύο θηλείας, τὴν Μαρίαν ἣ ἐλέγετο τοῦ Κλοπᾶ θυγάτηρ κατὰ τὸν νόμον, καὶ τὴν Σαλώμην.—This hypothesis, in opposition to the evident conclusion from the comparison of *Matt. xxvii. 56* and *Mark xv. 40* with *John xix. 25*, makes the companion of Mary Magdalen at Calvary in the last place not the wife, but the daughter, of Clopas, i. e. not the mother of James and Joses, but their sister, and consequently not the sister of the blessed Virgin, as that passage literally declares, but her husband's niece. But even the denial of proper sisterhood to the mother of James and the rest will not remove the objection in the text, when we consider not only the near relationship of these Maries, but their contemporary life in the same household, surviving the supposed common husband of both! In the next century we find Euthymius Zigabenus, in commenting on the same passage with Theophylact, slighting as well the true scriptural explanation of Chrysostom, as the above attempt at amalgamating it with the current Greek opinion, and giving the latter simply thus: 'Ἀδελφούς δὲ αὐτοῦς φησι, τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰωσήφ, διὰ τὸ τὸν πατέρα τούτων μνηστεύσασθαι τὴν τούτου μητέρα (*Comment. in 4 Evangelia, Tom. i. p. 507, ed. Matthæi*).

A somewhat similar middle course, as far as St James is concerned, may be seen in the apocryphal Apostolic History bearing the name of Abdias (in Fabric. *Codex Pseudepigraph. N. T. p. 591*): "Simon Chananæus cognomine, ac Judas qui et Thaddæus, et Jacobus quem fratrem Domini quidam appellant, fratres germani fuerunt, ex Chana Galilææ oriundi, parentibus Alphæo et Maria Cleophæ filia. Quorum postremus ex eadem matre sed patre diverso natus fuit, Josepho scilicet justo, eo cui desponsata beatissima Dei genitrix Maria fuit." On this hypothesis, which asserts St James, the only one of the three there mentioned who is called in the Gospels the son of Alphæus, to be the only one who was *not* such in fact, and makes them all not sons, but grandsons, of Clopas, it were needless to dwell further in the way of refutation. That it is not peculiar to the pseudo-Abdias appears from an ancient testimony quoted by Valesius in *Euseb. Lib. III. cap. 11*.

(It may be here noted that what was named as our second difficulty, viz. the non-mention of Jude, brother of James, *by that name*, in the list of the twelve given by St Matthew and St Mark (see p. 236), has probably given birth to the attachment of the name of Jude by ancient writers severally to other Apostles besides Lebbaeus or Thaddæus, viz. to Simon Zelotes and even to Thomas. See note 31 *sup.*; also Coteler. in *Recogn. Clement. Lib. I. cap. 60*.)

has been suppressed or extenuated, we may safely appeal to any reader of candour and judgment as to the course pursued here by the antagonist of the Evangelical History. Strauss sees no difficulty, in the way of the most literal and entire acceptance of the term *brethren*, in the fact of the dying Jesus committing His Mother to St John rather than to them, even though immediately after the ascension, they are found among the faithful; because, he says, it by no means follows that they believed before⁸¹! The real embarrassment, according to him, commences from this: that the same evangelists who give *James* and *Joses*, with Jude and Simon, as brethren to Jesus, give *other* James and Joses as sons to another Mary, who, according to St John, is not the mother of Jesus, but her sister, and the wife of Clopas: which, coupled with the fact of the brethren's unbelief, and the enumeration among the twelve Apostles of two Simons, two Jameses, and one Jude, gives us altogether "among the circle nearest to Jesus" two bearing the name of Jude, three of Simon, and four of James. To escape this embarrassing multitude of similar names, (as if this were the *sole* reason, or could be, with names of such perpetual recurrence among the Jews as these,—or as if the introduction of Simon Peter and James the son of Zebedee were relevant to any real difficulty or embarrassment on the matter,) we are naturally led to suspect some confusion here; and in the first place to imagine that of the four Jameses two may be identical, viz. the "lesser James"

⁸¹ Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, 1 Abschnitt. kap. 3, § 30: "Schwieriger scheint sich die Sache zu stellen, wenn man Joh. xix. 26 f. liest, dass Jesus am Kreuze seine Mutter dem Johannes, Sohnesstelle an ihr zu vertreten, empfohlen habe; was man nicht schicklich finden zu können glaubt, wenn Maria noch mehrere leibliche Kinder hatte, sondern nur wenn die überlebenden Geschwister ältere, ihm abgeneigte, Stiefbrüder waren. Allein immerhin konnten theils in äusseren, theils in inneren gemüthlichen Verhältnissen Gründe liegen, warum Jesus seine Mutter lieber dem Johannes übergeben mochte, als den Brüdern; von welchen dadurch, dass sie nach der Himmelfahrt (A. G. i. 14) in der Gesellschaft der Apostel erscheinen, noch keineswegs bewiesen ist, dass sie auch bei Jesu Tode schon geglaubt haben müssen.

Das eigentlich Missliche in dieser Sache fängt erst damit an, dass ausser dem Jakobus und Joses, welche als Brüder Jesu aufgeführt werden, noch zwei Männer gleiches Namens als Söhne einer andern Maria vorkommen (Marc. xv. 40, 47; xvi. 1; Matt. xxvii. 56) ohne Zweifel derselben, welche Joh. xix. 25, als Schwester der Mutter Jesu und Gattin eines Klopas bezeichnet ist; so dass wir sowohl unter den Söhnen der Maria, Mutter Jesu, als auch unter ihrer Schwester Kindern beidemale einen Jakobus und Joses hätten. Diese Gleichnamigkeit in dem nächsten Kreise Jesu verneht sich, wenn wir erwägen, dass wir in den Apostelverzeichnissen (Matt. x. 2 ff. Luc. vi. 14 ff.) noch zwei Jacobus, also mit dem Bruder und Vetter Jesu 4; ferner 2 Judas, also mit dem Bruder Jesu 3; ebenso 2 Simon, also mit Jesu Bruder gleichfalls 3, haben; wobei sich der Gedanke aufdringt, ob nicht mitunter dieselben Personen hier als verschiedene genommen seien?" (Vol. i. pp. 242—3.)

of Mark xv. 40, the son of Mary wife of Clopas, with the second James of the Apostolic list, Clopas and Alphæus being conceived to be the same person: there would then remain with this James the less, our Lord's cousin, but two others of the same name; viz. he who was called our Lord's brother, and James the son of Zebedee. And we might proceed even to identify the two first-named of these three remaining Jameses, *if* we admitted the authority of St Paul, Gal. i. 19, making the Lord's brother an Apostle; and we might thus be enabled to identify the two Judes also. But then we are met with the difficulty that St Luke in the Acts, and St Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, distinguish the brethren from the Apostles; and also that our Lord's brother, instead of being the son of Joseph and Mary, is thus made the son of Alphæus: while, if not strict brotherhood, but cousinship, were meant, St Paul would not have used the word ἀδελφός but ἀνεψιός, as he has done elsewhere, Col. iv. 10. All this being in Strauss's judgment very unlikely, the identity of Clopas and Alphæus itself very problematical, the identity of St Jude the Apostle with the author of the Epistle yet more so, and still more the correctness of rendering Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου by Jude the *brother* of James, it follows, as he observes despairingly, that the tissue of our identifications is torn asunder at every point: and we are come back to our original inextricable confusion, to wit, two, three, and even four near dependants of Jesus, either brethren, or cousins, or Apostles, bearing severally the same name⁸²! The confusion that Strauss presumes to impute to the evangelical history here belongs most truly, as has been justly observed⁸³, to his own

⁸² See the sequel of the passage above quoted from Strauss, winding up a rapid survey of the supposed difficulties by saying (p. 246): "Weicht so dass Gewebe dieser Identificationen auf allen Punkten auseinander, und werden wir hiemit auf den Anfang unsrer Untersuchung zurückgeworfen, so das wir wieder eigentliche Brüder Jesu, ferner zwei von diesen verschiedene Vettern gleichen Namens mit zweien von jenen, ausserdem einige mit beiden gleichnamige Apostel hätten:" which circumstance, he allows, is possible in itself; but then the passage Gal. i. 19, saying of the Apostle St James the less, whom St Luke calls the son of Alphæus, that he was the Lord's brother, confounds all inextricably!

⁸³ Strauss, Vol. i. p. 246: "So bleibt auf alle Fälle eine ziemliche Verwirrung, und sie scheint nur dadurch, wiewohl bloss negativ und ohne ein geschichtliches Resultat, gelöst werden zu können, dass man bei den N. T. lichen Schriftstellern und in der urchristlichen Sage selbst einige Unklarheit und Irrung über diesen Punkt annimmt, welche bei etwas verwickelten Verwandtschafts-und-Namens-Verhältnissen eher eintreten kann als ausbleiben." On these words it has been truly observed, by a Dutch writer to whom I have often referred before this,—
"Melius Straussius hæc verba non de N. T. Scriptoribus sed de sua ipsius disputa-

speculation; for surely a more preposterous mode of inquiry, a more wanton blending together of real difficulties in an indistinguishable mass with others that are purely factitious, can scarcely be imagined than this. To all the actual difficulties he has started on the Scriptural question, an abundant answer has been given in the foregoing pages.

It is not without evident and almost avowed motive that Strauss thus breaks off, as in despair, the process of Scriptural collation at the very point where its harmony with the best ecclesiastical tradition would have become apparent. He is determined that the Scripture must not be otherwise understood than as representing James and the rest as *children of Joseph and Mary*; for such he declares is the mythus of the nativity, in the New Testament exhibition, where Jesus is the *first* born of his mother, whereas in its further development by the Fathers he becomes the *only* born⁸⁴. In his view of this supposed development he has too many of better spirit and love of truth than himself preceding him, whose arguments I have discussed rather than his, while investigating the facts of the case. The chain of development, according to him, is as follows⁸⁵.

tione scripsisset. Nam satis mirari nequeo fulem levitatem, qua omnem hanc questionem tractaverit, et indignari studium, quo summa miscuerit infimis, ut lectori caligo offunderetur, ac sobrium iudicium ab recto et vero deflecteretur." Blom, p. 76. He then adduces the particulars that justify so severe a censure, in which, though I differ materially from the author as to the point of historic truth in the question that Strauss is discussing, the tortuousness and levity with which he conducts the argument is a point on which persons of various sentiments may well concur.

⁸⁴ It is thus that Strauss concludes his discussion, immediately after the passages quoted in the two preceding notes (coolly putting aside, as contrary to the Evangelists, the testimony of St Paul to the apostleship of the Lord's brother, and consequently his identity with the son of Alphæus). "Wie haben also keinen Grund, zu läugnen dass Jesu Mutter ihrem Gatten ausser Jesu noch mehrere Kinder geboren habe, jüngere und *vielleicht auch ältere*; Letzteres, weil die Angabe, dass Jesus der erstgeborene Sohn gewesen sei, so gut zur Mythe als N. T. licher gehören könnte, wie, dass er der einzige gewesen, zu ihr als patristischer" (p. 246). The effrontery of the passage I have put in italics is peculiarly remarkable; the blasphemous insinuation that there might have been *elder* children of Mary, imputing fabulous distortion of truth as well to the *πρωτότοκος* of the N. T. as to the alleged improvement upon this fable by the Fathers.

⁸⁵ Strauss, Vol. I. p. 240: "Es lässt sich hienach eine hübsche Leiter des Glaubens und beziehungsweise Aberglaubens in Bezug auf das Verhältniss zwischen Maria und Joseph entwerfen.

1. Zeitgenossen Jesu und Verfasser der Genealogien: Joseph und Maria Eheleute, und aus ihrer Ehe Jesus erzeugt.

2. Zeitalter und Verfasser unsrer Geburtsgeschichten: Maria und Joseph nur verlobt: Joseph ohne Antheil an dem Kinde, und vor dessen Geburt in keiner ehelichen Berührung mit Maria.

3. *Olshausen* u. A.: Auch nach der Geburt Jesu, wiewohl nun Maria's Gatte, *sollte* doch Joseph keinen Gebrauch von seinem ehelichen Rechte machen.

- "1. *Statement of the contemporaries of Jesus and authors of the Genealogies.*—Mary and Joseph married, Jesus the offspring of their marriage.
- "2. *Succeeding Statement of those who wrote histories of the Nativity.*—Mary and Joseph affianced only. Joseph not the father of Jesus, and till the time of the child's birth without conjugal relations to Mary.
- "3. *Statement of Olshausen and others.*—Joseph, even after the birth of Jesus, voluntarily abstained from the assumption of conjugal rights.
- "4. *Statement of Epiphanius, the Protevangelium Jacobi, &c.*—Joseph a decrepit old man, to whom such assumption were impossible: his other children are now asserted to be the offspring of a preceding marriage; and he receives Mary less as an affianced husband than as a guardian.
- "5. *Further Statement of the Protevangelium, Chrysostom, &c.*—Not only was the virginity of Mary not destroyed by any subsequent parturitions, but not even by the birth of Jesus.
- "6. *Saint Jerome's Statement.*—Not only Mary, but Joseph, had ever preserved the virginal character: and the asserted brethren of Jesus are now no longer brethren, but cousins."

Now to this whole scheme of development, which the minds of several ingenious reasoners have elaborated, our great objection is, that it does not accurately represent the fact. Not one of the successive sentiments here enumerated, if we except the 4th, (the offspring of apocryphal Gospels, and of no weight in the general argument), was ever in point of fact so evolved out of the preceding one, as gradually to take its place in the mind of the Church, or of any portion of it. In contradiction to this

4. *Epiphanius, Protevangelium Jacobi* u. A.: Als abgelebter Greis konnte er diess auch nicht wohl mehr; seine angeblichen Kinder sind aus einer früheren Ehe, und überhaupt bekommt Joseph die Maria nicht sowohl zur Braut und Frau, als vielmehr bloss in Obhut.

5. *Protevangelium, Chrysostomus* u. A.: Nicht nur nicht durch spätere, von Joseph erzeugte Kinder, sondern auch nicht durch die Geburt Jesu, wurde die Jungfrauschaft der Maria im Mindesten verletzt.

6. *Hieronymus*: Nicht allein Maria, sondern auch Joseph beobachtete beständige Virginität, und die angeblichen Brüder Jesu sind nicht seine Söhne, sondern Jesu Vettern."

theory we assert that the 1st sentiment, which is that of the blaspheming Jews, was never entertained by any disciple of Jesus Christ and his Apostles, nor by any professed Christians except one anti-apostolical and ever denounced party: that the 2d sentiment, not the 1st, was that of the Evangelists and Apostles and all Christians from the beginning: further, that there is no proof of the 3rd and 5th having *succeeded* to the 2d, but rather of their having co-existed with it in the minds of the more thoughtful persons from the first. Lastly, that the 6th (saving that part which asserts the preceding celibacy of Joseph, and which is rather its corollary than its foundation,) is no extraneous addition to the two last-mentioned, but rather the condition under which they were held from the earliest times by those who attentively studied the Gospels; while the contrary opinion respecting our Lord's brethren, which this is represented as superseding for the first time in St Jerome's day, bears itself most distinctly the marks so wrongfully attributed to this, of being excogitated on merely doctrinal grounds by its earliest abettors.

The proof of these assertions lies in the records of the universal Church: nor need we any further illustration than what we have abundantly produced of the untruth of the subjective ground on which Strauss introduces his 6th or asserted extreme opinion, as having raised itself at length on the basis of all the others, and superseded them. Was the Western Church, which from the fifth century has been unanimous in this view, so much more zealous for the honour of Mary as Θεοτόκος καὶ ἀειπαρθένος than the Eastern, which, during the same period, has acquiesced in the 4th or supposed intermediate sentiment? No well-informed person will maintain this: but we may make the comparison more decisive by taking individuals of the same section of the Church. Was Hilary, for instance, who adopted the 4th sentiment, less earnest and vehement on that point than Augustine or even Jerome himself, who maintained the other? Let the extract given from the former, and the epithet *homines pravissimi*, applied to the impugnors of the perpetual virginity, answer⁸⁶. Or if the extreme vehemence in this cause of the pretended inventor of the 6th opinion be considered as favouring Strauss's view of the grounds on which it was propagated and

⁸⁶ See the passage quoted in note 50, p. 241.

received by the *Latin* Fathers, let us look at its solitary assertors at the corresponding period among the *Greeks*. Who were they who alone explicitly preferred this supposed extreme opinion, that the brethren "were not brethren, but cousins," to the supposed moderate opinion there generally received from the Prot-evangelium, that they were half brothers? Do we find them among Collyridian ascribers of divine honours to the Theotokos, in the Apollinarian or other monophysite schools, most zealous for the divine maternity, or among that numerous class who, without being Eutychians, or adherents of the *latrocinium Ephesinum*, were yet disposed to view the sober decisions of the Chalcedonian council with disgust, while revering St Cyril of Alexandria as the exclusive model of orthodoxy on these questions? Just the contrary. The solitary assertors in question are Chrysostom and Theodoret⁸⁷, both conceived by their unfriendly contemporaries as leaning to the school most opposed to such views, the latter under actual posthumous censure from the second council of Constantinople⁸⁸ on account of his correspondence with St Cyril, unfavourably interpreted as savouring of the pernicious heresy of Nestorius. To any one who weighs both the character of these persons, and the reasons they have produced for their opinion on the present question, the motive assigned by Strauss and others as alone dictating its adoption, will appear to be the most opposite to the truth. It was the manliness of understanding for which, no less than for integrity and piety, St Chrysostom was distinguished, that led both him and Theodoret, as they did Augustine and Jerome also, to reject the apocryphal follies purporting to come from St James himself,

⁸⁷ See pp. 255, 256, *sup*.

⁸⁸ This, which is commonly esteemed the fifth œcumenical council, was summoned by Justinian, A.D. 553, in the vain hope of conciliating the fanatic monophysites, whom his empress favoured, by the condemnation of the *tria capitula*, as they are termed, and involved in that censure not only Theodorus of Mopsuestia, but Ibas of Edessa and Theodoret, who had died in the peace of the Church, having been at the fourth great council solemnly pronounced orthodox, after the publication of the writings that provoked this posthumous condemnation. How this was resisted in the West, especially by the African Church and her most approved doctors, is well known from ecclesiastical history: even the reluctant yielding of the principal see of Rome to the imperial influence in this matter not obtaining the concurrence of the others, but occasioning a long rupture of communion with them. See Gieseler, *Handbuch*, § 110. (But even these condemnatory documents distinguished Theodoret and Ibas as repentant, μεταμεληθέντας, and reconciled with St Cyril, and the others whom it condemned as Nestorians. See Justinian. Imp. *Epistola*, p. 112, &c. *ap.* Bandini, *Monumenta Ecclesiæ Græcæ*, Tom. I. pp. 1—128, Florentiæ, 1762. But on this matter, which has only an indirect bearing on our present subject, we cannot dwell here.)

with which, even from the time of Origen, the East was misled on this question, to imagine him and his brethren children of Joseph, when the canonical Scriptures are so decisive for another parentage⁸⁹.

If, then, the theory of subjective development is utterly repugnant to the fact, with respect to the origin of its extreme opinion, the 6th in Strauss's scale, from those immediately preceding; will it be more successful in its application to the earlier stages of the supposed progression, viz. to the opinion of the perpetual virginity of her who was honoured to be the mother of the Incarnate Word, and ultimately to the doctrine of the miraculous conception itself? With respect to this last-mentioned point, it is scarcely necessary to repeat, in confutation of Strauss's Nos. 1 and 2, the argument of the last section, to prove that those whom he would distinguish are certainly identical; that not only is the genealogy inseparably interwoven with the history of the nativity in the first Gospel, but both in the first and the third the genealogies themselves bear distinct witness to the statement that Joseph was *not* the natural father of Jesus⁹⁰. Against the Ebionite position with which Strauss commences his series, as if it were the primeval Christianity, the text of the genealogies in Matthew i. and Luke iii. is sufficiently decisive; but there is much greater plausibility in the concatenation of his Nos. 2 and 3, in which he has now others on his side beside Socinians or anti-supernaturalists. This is, therefore, what we have yet to consider: the alleged tendency of high notions of virginity to cause the subsequent growth of the opinion, that children, once reputed Mary's, could not have been such in fact, but must have been either step-children or nephews.

We will not deny what the experience of eighteen centuries of Christianity proves sufficiently as a matter of fact, viz. the tendency of the Christian mystery, God manifest in the flesh, when heartily received, to generate an unwillingness⁹¹ to believe

⁸⁹ Compare particularly the quotation from Theodoret in note 76, with the Scriptural argument, pp. 225—231 *sup*.

⁹⁰ See pp. 194, 195, and also 216—218.

⁹¹ The reluctance in question extended anciently beyond the limits of the Catholic Church, even to those who were infected with Arian or semi-Arian views; and Epiphanius and Photius are not without reason suspected of mistake in charging severally on the Apollinarists and Eunomians a denial of St Mary's perpetual virginity. We find St Basil using this point as a mutually confessed one, while contending with the latter heretics for the consubstantiality of the Word: for to their allegation of the Apostle's words, *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*, in Col. i.

that the womb thus divinely honoured should have given birth to other merely human progeny. Admitting therefore this fact, (to which some phænomena in recent religionism afford rather an apparent than a real exception⁹²), it might then appear to follow, that we ought to *allow*, in our speculation, for the effect of such tendencies and prepossessions, while weighing the testimony of the primitive and other believers, and therefore to make a presumption for the truth of the side which is not thus favoured. But reasonable as this must appear, if we viewed Christianity as *ab extra*, it is utterly impossible that this can be considered as a just and philosophical proceeding, where the Incarnation is truly believed as an objective reality. The sole question must then be this; whether these sentiments or predispositions are of a nature essentially accordant with that stupendous fact, or an extraneous product which human infirmity or misapprehension has associated with it? The sentiments in question require no less truly, in the former case, to be cherished as guides to the perception of actual truth on this divine matter, than they re-

15, as if they implied merely a precedence of primogeniture among angelic creatures, he opposes the term *πρωτότοκος* used of Christ's human generation in Matt. i. 25, though no other children certainly followed, as an illustration of a corresponding use of the word respecting the Divine and ineffable Generation of the Only-begotten Son. *Εἰ πρωτότοκος, φασίν, ὁ Τίς, οὐκ ἐστὶ μονογενὴς· ἀλλ' ὀφείλει καὶ ἄλλος εἶναι οὗ πρωτότοκος λέγεται. Καίτοιγε, ὦ σοφὲ, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας τῆς παρθένου μόνος γεννηθεὶς πρωτότοκος αὐτῆς εἴρηται· ἕως οὗ γὰρ ἔτεκε, φησί, τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον. ὥστε οὐκ ἀνάγκη ἀδελφοῦ πρωτότοκον λέγεσθαι. Λεχθεῖν δ' ἂν ὅτι καὶ πρὸ πάσης γεννήσεως πρωτότοκος ἐλέγετο.* (S. Basilii Lib. iv. *adv. Eunomium*; Opera, Tom. I. p. 414, ed. Par. 1839.)

When Neander, in his Church History, writes that many doctors of the Church (*manche Kirchenlehrer*) of the earlier period asserted that Jesus had younger brothers, children of Joseph and Mary, the greatness of the misrepresentation moves even Blom to contradict it (*Disputatio*, p. 99): who remarks, with equal candour and truth, that he knows no ecclesiastical doctor but Tertullian of whom this can be said. If Tertullian is indeed to be excepted from the general sentiment, as Jerome's concession of him to Helvidius certainly seems to imply, the exception of one in whose eyes the Catholic system was not sufficiently austere is very strange and remarkable.

⁹² It is possible for the Incarnation to be admitted, but not as that great Christian fact which the writings of St John and St Paul represent it, but merely with reference to some other assumed *articulus stantis aut cadentis Ecclesie*; to have all its details measured as to their estimated importance, not only by their essential bearing on that (a consideration which, if ever true or safe as a practical rule, would require the eye of Omniscience to make it so), but by the degree in which the subjective mind of each believer can discern that bearing or connexion. When this is the case, then indeed experience proves that such unwillingness as is affirmed in the text is very frequently absent. There may even be a pleasure in trampling upon considerations, as without interest to a spiritual Christian, which these persons' predecessors, under more reverent associations, regarded as sacred. Whether religionists of this description, or those whose views are exhibited in note 99, best represent the mind which is moulded by the great truths of the Gospel, a future generation may have ampler means of determining than ours.

quire, in the latter, to be utterly mortified and forsworn. Now to whichever side of this alternative the *a priori* view may be supposed to incline, it cannot, on the supposition of faith, have that decided bias towards the latter or negative side, which the supposition of extraneous indifferentism, as it is deemed, would necessarily introduce into the consideration. For if for this latter side we have still the presumption arising from human frailty and ignorance, and their experienced power in corrupting or perverting the divine truths presented to them, we have, on the other side, the presumption springing from something more than considerations of merely human probability, that what has been bound up with the conception of the Gospel mystery, wherever it has told most effectually and vitally on the world, cannot be radically corrupt or wrong.

In the appeal to the law and the testimony on this subject, our attention is principally called to the close of St Matthew's first Chapter, where it is said that Joseph knew not his wife "*until* she had brought forth her first-born son," ἕως οὗ ἔτεκε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον. On this it is plausibly argued by the advocates of the negative side on this question, that what is thus pointedly denied within a certain limit only, must be considered as affirmed beyond that limit⁹³: for, however that inference may be set aside in such passages as those where Samuel is said not to have visited Saul "*until* the day of his death," or Michal to have "had no child *unto* the day of her death⁹⁴," it is the simple impossibility of the contemplated case that there supersedes the otherwise inevitable force of the limiting "*until*:" but no such supersession can be pleaded here, where there is no natural impossibility, like that of the dead visiting or bearing children, and no visible incongruity, in the supposition of that intercourse being begun which had *so long* been suspended. But this is met on the other side by a denial that either impossibility, or evident and confessed incongruity, in the event, is necessarily required to exclude the inference in question, or forms the real ground of its exclusion in the two

⁹³ See e.g. Kuinoel, or Fritzsche, in *Matt.* i. 25; and the commentaries of Whitby or Campbell among ourselves. Rosenmüller allowed, as even the anti-patristic Beausobre had contended long before, that no such inference can be drawn from the ἕως οὗ, or the πρωτότοκος. As for Strauss (Vol. I. p. 236), he will not measure the expressions in St Matthew by any Jewish example, but simply by the supposed parallel passages of the narration of Plato's birth in Diogenes Laertius.

⁹⁴ 1 Sam. xv. 35, and 2 Sam. vi. 23.

quoted instances; but merely the evident non-contemplation of the case by the writer. When Jacob is assured by the Almighty that He would not forsake him *until* He had accomplished the thing that He had promised⁹⁵, or when in the Odyssey Helen is represented as promising Ulysses that she would not discover him as a spy in Troy *before* he was returned to the Grecian fleet, it is neither the impossibility nor the intrinsic absurdity of the thing that forbids our concluding that Jacob was subsequently forsaken by the Almighty, or that Helen, immediately that Ulysses was safe at the fleet, must have proceeded exultingly to tell the story of his concealment and escape to the Trojans; which is the inference that the above-mentioned canon would require. It is enough that, both in the sacred and the profane writer, their assertion and view was confined to the limit they expressed, and had no appearance of even glancing beyond that limit; and that we are *therefore* quite free to recognize in the one case the falsehood, and in the other the great improbability, of that having taken place after the expiration of the limit which is denied to have taken place before⁹⁶. Applying this to the passage of St Matthew, the assertors of the Catholic side in the present question maintain that the contemplation of what took place after the birth of Jesus is as evidently absent from the mind of the Evangelist, as what took place subsequently to the other limits from the several minds of the sacred Historian and the Grecian bard. His purpose in these last two verses, the 24th and 25th, is simply to assert, in accordance with the great prophecy quoted just before, that in the procreation and birth of the EMMANUEL, the one great object of faith, Joseph had no share whatever;

⁹⁵ Gen. xxviii. 15. To this, and the two above-quoted from the books of Samuel, Grotius and others add the examples of Gen. viii. 7, Job xxvii. 5, Ps. cx. 1 (coll. 1 Cor. xv. 25), Is. xxii. 14, and Matt. xii. 20, and also the fact that the Jews wish so to interpret Gen. xlix. 10.

⁹⁶ *Odyssæis* Δ. v. 253:

Καὶ ὥμοσα καρτερὸν ἔρπον,
Μὴ μὲν πρὶν Ὀδυσῆα μετὰ Τρώεσσ' ἀναφῆναι
Πρὶν γε τὸν ἐς νῆας τε θοῶς κλισίας τ' ἀφικέσθαι.

The passage, with Eustathius's comment on the *πρὶν*, is quoted by Pearson in his note on this Article of the Creed. The parallel may be considered as defective so far as that it is not said that Helen *did not* reveal the secret before Ulysses' return to the ships and the tents, but that she swore she would not. But inasmuch as the sworn purpose not to do so before might be concluded to imply an *intention* of doing so afterwards, the argument from the absence of any such intention applies analogically to the case in St Matthew. And so for the infinitely more sacred promise of Gen. xxviii. 13—15.

that He was both conceived and brought forth by a pure Virgin : while of what took place after that event nothing is implied or asserted one way or the other. And therefore they hold themselves free to conclude, as a matter of pious persuasion, but by no means of the same gravity or indispensable necessity as the belief of that immaculate conception⁹⁷, that the person thus transcendently honoured, whom her Divine Son committed at

⁹⁷ This distinction in the necessity and importance of the two beliefs is clearly expressed by St Basil in his Homily on Christ's generation, in a passage which, though his Benedictine Editor has thought proper to append a *caute legendum* in the margin (as if such a judgment on the irreverent Antidicomarianite opinion were too lenient after the œcumenical Council of Constantinople had called Mary *ἀειπαρθένος*), exactly agrees with the sentiments of our own divines on the matter (note 99 *inf.*), while it declares the grounds on which the subordinate belief is received without question by the Church Catholic. Quoting Matt. i. 24, he says, "*Being raised from sleep, he took unto him his wife.* And while accounting her as such in disposition and affection, and all the care befitting those who thus live together, yet he abstained from conjugal works : for *he knew her not*, it is said, *till she had brought forth her first-born son.* Now this suggests a suspicion that after having thus purely ministered to the birth of the Lord, which was accomplished by the power of the Holy Ghost (he ceased from this abstinence), Mary not then refusing the dues of marriage. But although this does not damage the word of godliness (inasmuch as her virginity was necessary until the time of her ministering to the divine economy, but what followed is not to be thus solicitously studied in respect of that mystery), nevertheless we, since the ears of the lovers of Christ will not endure to hear that the Mother of God ever ceased to be a Virgin, account the aforesaid witnesses (to that truth) satisfactory. And as to the expression, *he knew her not* TILL she had brought forth, we reply that the word TILL often seems to indicate a certain limitation, when it really expresses what is unlimited. Of which kind is that spoken by the Lord, *Lo, I am with you always, EVEN TO the end of the world.* For it is not meant, that after the end of the world the Lord should cease to be with his saints; the promise signifies the continuance of what is present, and is no abscission of the future. Thus also we say that the word *till* is to be taken here. And with respect to *her first-born son*, this word does not always imply comparison with those that come after: but he that opens the womb is so called." (S. Basilii Cæs. Cappadoc. Archiepiscopi Oper. Tom. II. p. 854, ed. Par.) Καὶ ἐγερθεὶς παρέλαβε τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ. Καὶ διαθέσει καὶ στοργῇ καὶ πόσῃ τῇ ἐπιβαλλούσῃ τοῖς συνοικοῦσιν ἐπιμελεῖα, γυναῖκα ἡγούμενος, τῶν γαμικῶν ἐργῶν ἀπείχετο· οὐκ ἐγίνωσκε γὰρ αὐτὴν, φησὶν, ἕως οὗ ἔτεκε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον. Τοῦτο δὲ ἤδη ὑπόνοιαν παρέχει, ὅτι μετὰ τὸ καθαρῶς ὑπηρετήσασθαι τῇ γεννήσει τοῦ Κυρίου τῇ ἐπιτελεσθεισῇ διὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου, καὶ νενομισμένα τοῦ γάμου ἐργα μὴ ἀπαρνησαμένης τῆς Μαρίας. Ἡμεῖς δὲ, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν τῷ τῆς εὐσεβείας παρалуμαίνεται λόγῳ (μέχρι γὰρ τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκονομίαν ὑπηρεσίας ἀναγκαῖα ἢ παρηνία, τὸ δ' ἐφεξῆς ἀπολυπραγμύνητον τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ μυστηρίου), ὅμως διὰ τὸ μὴ καταδέχεσθαι τῶν φιλοχρίστων τὴν ἀκοήν, ὅτι ποτὲ ἐπαύσατο εἶναι παρθένος ἡ Θεοτόκος, ἐκείνας ἡγούμεθα τὰς μαρτυρίας αὐτάρκει. Πρὸς μὲν τὸ ὅτι οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἕως οὗ ἔτεκε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς, ὅτι τὸ ἕως πολλοῦ χρόνου μὲν τινα δοκεῖ περιουσίῳ ὑποφαίνειν, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν τὸ ἀρίστον δείκνυσιν. Ὁμοῖον ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου λεχθὲν τὸ Καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ μεθ' ὑμῶν εἰμι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας, ἕως τῆς συντελείας τοῦ αἵωνος. Οὐ γὰρ δήπου μετὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦτον οὐκ ἐμελλε συνέσεσθαι τοῖς ἁγίοις ὁ Κύριος· ἀλλ' ἡ ἐπαγγελία τοῦ παρόντος τὸ δημηκεῖ σημαίνει, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποκοπὴ τοῦ μέλλοντος. Τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον φάμεν κἀνταῦθα παρελῆθαι τὸ ἕως. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰρηται Πρωτότοκον, οὐ πάντως ὁ πρωτότοκος πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιγινόμενους ἔχει τὴν σύγκρισιν, ἀλλ' ὁ πρῶτον διανοίγων μήτραν πρωτότοκος ὀνομάζεται. (The freedom of this passage from the apocryphal stories respecting Joseph's decrepitude, &c. is the more remarkable from its being followed by the citation of a tradition derived from the Protevangelium, respecting Mary's education by Zacharias.)

His departure to the care of one of a different household, no other children having ever been supposed hers to whom the pages of Holy Scripture do not most distinctly assign a different parentage, can have had no other offspring beside this One; that the sentiment of veneration for this august vessel of grace which has ever animated Christians, as it began, even before that birth, to animate her own familiar kindred⁹⁸, could not have been wanting to the highly-favoured Joseph; and that she who was alone a Virgin Mother, so proclaimed by prophets, and commemorated as blessed by all generations, remained a Virgin for ever⁹⁹.

⁹⁸ Luke i. 42, 43.

⁹⁹ A few extracts from some of our principal divines may suffice to declare the sense of our own Church on this subject.

Dr H. Hammond; *Paraphrase of Matt. i. 25*: "And she brought forth this Jesus, her first-born (and in all probability her only) Son,—the word *till* being of no force to the contrary, as may appear, 1 Sam. xv. 35,—without ever being known by her husband, either before or after her conception of him; (and as 'tis piously believed, though not affirmed in Scripture, remained a Virgin all her life after): and on the eighth day," &c.

Bp Jeremy Taylor, *Life of Christ*, § 3: "He that came from his grave fast tied with a stone and signature, and into the College of the Apostles *the doors being shut*, and into the glories of his Father through the solid orbs of all the firmament, came also (as the Church piously believes) into the world, so without doing violence to the virginal and pure body of his mother that he did also leave her virginity entire, to be as a seal, that none might open the gate of that sanctuary: that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the word of the Lord by the Prophet (Ezek. xlv. 2): *This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it: because the LORD God of Israel hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut.*"

Bp Pearson, *Exposition of the Creed*, Art. 3: "Thirdly, we believe the mother of our Lord to have been not only before and after his nativity, but also for ever, the most immaculate and blessed Virgin. For although it may be thought sufficient as to the mystery of his Incarnation, that when our Saviour was conceived and born his mother was a Virgin; though whatsoever should have followed after could have no reflective operation upon the first-fruit of her womb; though there be no further mention in the Creed, than that he was *born of the Virgin Mary*; yet the peculiar eminency and unparalleled privilege of that mother, the special honour and reverence due unto that Son, and ever paid by her, the regard of that Holy Ghost who came upon her, and the power of the Highest who overshadowed her, the singular goodness and piety of Joseph, to whom she was espoused, have persuaded the Church of God in all ages to believe that she still continued in the same virginity, and therefore is to be acknowledged the *Ever-Virgin Mary*. As if the gate of the sanctuary in the prophet Ezekiel were to be understood of her: *This gate shall be shut, it shall not be opened, and no man shall enter in by it: because the LORD, the God of Israel, hath entered in by it, therefore it shall be shut.*"

Bp Bull, *Sermon on the Blessed Virgin's low and exalted condition*: "If she did *portare Deum* she did also *parere Deum*: if she bore God she brought him forth too, and so was *Θεοτόκος*, the mother of God, i.e. of Him that was God. Nay, the blessed martyr and disciple of the Apostles, Ignatius, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, ed. Voss. p. 27, feared not to say, *Our God Jesus Christ was born of Mary*. But what need we search after human authorities, when the inspired Elizabeth, in her divine rapture, a little before my text (v. 43), plainly gives the blessed Virgin the same title? *And whence is this to me, that the mother of my Lord should come unto me?* Where *μήτηρ τοῦ Κυρίου* is doubtless of the same

On the impossibility of refuting these sentiments,—sentiments of a moral nature, and possessing the sanction of that holy and universal Society, to which the promise of Christ assures an unfaded permanence in the world,—the truly catholic Christian will have pleasure in reposing: and even in the reserve of Scripture he may find topics of instruction. It would open too wide a field of speculation were we to discuss the ideas of the earliest Church respecting virginity as they bear upon this question; and to prove what is, I think, capable of the clearest proof, that these ideas, in the substance of them, however they may have been tarnished by occasional excesses or errors, are but the carrying out of principles laid down and exemplified with repeated distinctness in holy Scripture. However strange it may seem to many minds at present to reconcile a high sense of the blessing and sanctity of marriage with an ascription of

import with *Θεοτόκος*; for the title of *Our Lord* belongs to Christ chiefly as he is *our God*. And we are to conceive Elizabeth being filled with the Spirit to have given the title of *her Lord* to the babe in the blessed Virgin's womb, not according to the poor narrow sense of the degenerate Jews, but according to the most august and highest sense of the word, viz. that he is so *Our Lord* as to be *Our God* also. Now the necessary consequence of this dignity of the blessed Virgin is, that she remained for ever a Virgin, as the Catholic Church hath always held and maintained. For it cannot with decency be imagined, that the most holy Vessel which was thus once consecrated to be a receptacle of the Deity should afterwards be desecrated and profaned by human use."

Bp Beveridge, *Thesaurus Theologicus* (a work composed from the loose memoranda of the author); Vol. I. p. 134: "She was a Virgin when she bore him, Gen. iii. 15; Isai. vii. 14; Luke i. 27. It is very probable she continued so after: Matt. i. 25 compared with 1 Sam. xv. 35. His brethren were his kinsmen, or Joseph's children by another wife; they are not called hers." Compare the same excellent author's *Annotaciones in Canones Concilii Ephesini*, p. 104 (*Pandectæ*, Tom. II. p. 104), where he cites St Basil's words, διὰ τὸ μὴ καταδέχασθαι τῶν φιλοχρίστων τὴν ἀκοήν, ὅτι ποτὲ ἐπαύσατο εἶναι παρθένος ἡ Θεοτόκος.

Bp Wilson on Matt. i. 25: "The words 'till she had brought forth her first-born son,' do not imply that she had others, as appears by Gen. xxviii. 15, 2 Sam. vi. 23, 1 Sam. xv. 35, Isai. xxii. 14, and Exod. xiii. 2. Heinsius translates these words: *and took unto him his wife until she brought forth her first-born son: and knew her not.*"

Bp Z. Pearce on the same place: "It does not follow from these words, or from the words *first-born son*, that Joseph did or did not know Mary after the birth of Jesus. That the words *ἕως οὗ*, *till*, do not imply it, see proofs in the LXX, Gen. xxviii. 15, Deut. xxxiv. 6, 1 Sam. xv. 35, 2 Sam. vi. 23, Ps. cx. 1, and in 1 Tim. iv. 13. And it is well known that Christ is often spoken of as the *first-born* or *first-begotten* of God by them who never intended that we should believe God to have any other Son born or begotten in the same manner. See Heb. i. 6: and see further in Heinsius, *Exercitationes Sacræ*, 4to, pp. 4, 5."

The observations of the last cited prelate, whom none ever considered extremely high in doctrine, in scholarship and good sense may well outweigh those of Whitby, to which in time they are posterior: an author, all of whose writings breathe somewhat of the spirit which unhappily displayed itself in his *Disquisitiones Modestæ* and his *Last Thoughts*: where, proceeding on a miserable confusion of the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity with the Sabellian perversion of it, he distinctly renounces it for the Arian heresy.

higher virtue to those who renounced its solaces for the sake of a closer devotion to the concerns of God's kingdom among men, the much-censured ancient Church did combine these two Scriptural principles together. The same persons who attached such distinguished praise to purely religious celibacy, "the eunuchs who so made themselves for the kingdom of heaven's sake," were most zealous in refuting and denouncing those whose precepts of abstinence were dictated by other views of religion; who, on the principles of either Gnostic or Manichean heresy, vilified the divine work in the constitution of humanity, and decried wedlock as a work of the devil, or of an inferior Demiurgus. While not only was marriage hallowed in the minds of Catholic Christians by its divine institution anterior to human sin, and its continued exemplification in the holy patriarchs of the preparatory dispensation, but received its highest honour in the last by being made a divine mystery, a sacramental representation of that union of the Incarnate Lord with his Church from which springs the spiritual progeny of the redeemed, can we deem this honour neutralized by their vivid sense of the pollution which since the fall attached to all merely human conception, and the consequent impossibility that the Divine Restorer of humanity should be the offspring of conjugal union, but of a Virgin womb only? If not, how then can that just honour be said to be neutralized by their peculiar respect to that vessel of the Divine Incarnation, and the sense of degradation they instinctively attached to the idea of that Virgin becoming subsequently a mother in the ordinary processes of humanity? Might we not rather suspect that professed honour of holy matrimony which nothing could content beside this? When we consider how contemporaneous in origin and growth with this praise of virginity in the Catholic Church have been those high ideas of the sanctity and inviolability of the nuptial union, which penetrated by degrees the corruption of heathen society, and introduced the domestic life of Christians in its place, we may well question whether the true source of that purity and happiness, and of the unbending strictness in which, as their essential condition, that purity and happiness are involved, is so well understood by the vituperators of "Ancient Christianity" as they imagine. Judging either by what we see of their tone or spirit on these questions, or by what has been done or attempted by persons of

their sentiment in modification of the old laws of Christendom in this respect, we may see reason to doubt whether the conservation of these all-sacred institutions were equally safe in their hands.

But to return to the particular matter of fact to which our investigation has been directed. If, our adversaries being judges, these alleged extravagances respecting Mary and her virginity began to possess the minds of Christians even in the Apostolic age, their prevalence in the primitive Church of Jerusalem would be indeed most peculiarly marvellous, that Church having been ruled, as the advocates of the opposed opinion would persuade us, by an actual son of Joseph and Mary! We know how impossible it is for persons who are conscious of high descent in themselves, or those to whom they are more immediately attached, to forget, much less to forswear, such a distinction, however unwilling to pride themselves on its possession. We know how in affairs of religion such feelings may operate, and in those not far removed either from Jewish or Gentile prepossessions would operate powerfully. We know that, some centuries after, it was from claims arising out of nearness of kindred to their prophet that arose the first great schism which separates to this day the followers of the Arabian impostor. And though CHRIST is not so learnt,—and though (as the very possibility of our present discussion sufficiently proves) the true Church of God never forgot His words who said, “*Whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother and sister and mother*,”—yet in a Church which so far regarded the customs of the ancient dispensation as to choose all its bishops, until the last great dispersion, from our Lord’s kindred after the flesh, who will say that in the lifetime of one known to be the offspring of the blessed mother of our Lord,—or of his successor the son of Clopas, from the same family, or of any of the fourteen Davidean bishops that followed, or of any who retained traditionally that living recollection of his personal character which St James seems peculiarly to have inspired,—the belief of that most honoured mother being no mother of his, but *ἀειπαθήνος*, could be silently insinuated to general acceptance? Perhaps the advocates of this opinion would not be inclined to contend for the very early propagation of a belief so opposite to what they deem the historical fact. But what we find irrecon-

cilable with their assertion of such a relation of St James to the B. V. Mary is the general and undisputed belief to the contrary at the earliest period in which the judgment of that Church can be obtained; the fact that no vestige of any such opinion *within the Apostolical Church* is to be found, until a few individuals, a bishop and some scattered monks and presbyters of a subsequent age and remote country, dissatisfied with the prevalent Church ideas¹⁰⁰, were induced to assert the existence of that relation, as what might be collected from the testimony of Scripture. That question has been now examined: and on this, as on every other point of the evangelic system, we trust it is apparent that the doctrinal belief of Christians is not concerned with mythical imaginations, but with historical facts.

¹⁰⁰ Bonosus in Macedonia, Helvidius, Jovinian, &c. in Italy*; followed by others in sufficient numbers to be called by Epiphanius and Augustine *Antidicomarianites*. These men had no precursors in their sentiment respecting the Virgin except those much worse and thorough heretics who asserted *Jesus* to be the son of Joseph and Mary. And there is no appearance that those earlier heretics pointed to St James of Jerusalem or St Jude in proof of their denial of St Mary's virgin character; which, on the supposition of the Helvidian opinion being true, might have been expected: especially when we find one later branch of them claiming St James as their great authority for the continued observance of the Jewish law (p. 252, *sup.*): the older ones, according to Epiphanius in his account of the 30th or Ebionite heresy, holding up St James personally as an example of virginity (*Opp.* Tom. I. p. 126), and some, with strange but characteristic contrariety to the others, as an impugner of the temple-service and burnt sacrifices (*ib.* p. 140).

* Helvidius was the disciple of an Arian, Auxentius; and Bonosus is said by Isidore of Seville (*Orig. Lib. VIII. cap. 5*) to have propagated an opinion adverse to the Divine Sonship of our Lord.

CHAPTER III.

ON THE DETAILS OF OUR LORD'S BIRTH AND
INFANCY.

SECTION I.

THE INCIDENTS NARRATED IN THE SECOND CHAPTER OF ST MATTHEW'S GOSPEL ARE NOT OF A MYTHICAL OR UNHISTORICAL CHARACTER.

THE observations of the last chapter were directed against the position of those who would ascribe to purely mythical ideas, floating in the minds of the early Jewish believers, the formation of the canonical statements we possess as to our Lord's ancestry and parentage. But it is not enough to prove the unreasonableness of this position, and to maintain against its defenders, who would dissever the genealogies from the narratives in which they are respectively found, their inseparable connexion and common authorship, if we abandon those narratives themselves to the mythical interpreter. If what had been urged against the accounts in St Luke's first chapter of the nativity of the forerunner, as unhistorical, may be applied with greater success to the following circumstances in the same Gospel relating to that of our Lord¹,—if the character of mythus be yet more strongly impressed on the other statement of that birth and its concurrent incidents in the opening chapters of St Matthew²,—and if, over and above all this, the comparison of the several narratives with each other do indeed evince the impossibility of reconciling them in any wise together³,—the adversary of the Evangelical history may boast of the victory with respect to this

¹ Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, 1 Abschnitt (ch. iv.), §§ 32, 33.

² *Ibid.* *ubi supra*, §§ 34, 35, 36, 38.

³ *Ibid.* §§ 37, 39.

its earliest portion. To these allegations therefore it is requisite to attend; beginning, as in the case of the genealogies, with the survey of the two Gospel statements *separately*. And here also I would commence with St Matthew, though Strauss's order is different: both because the marvellous characters deemed mythical are more strongly marked in the first Evangelist, and because his more direct and unambiguous reference to public notes of the time would most readily answer the purpose, if it could be accomplished, of a historical objector. Our way being thus cleared, we may then better proceed to the far more circumstantial and more domestic narration of the third Evangelist, and the grave question of their agreement.

The impossibility of that being history which we read as such in the opening chapters of the New Testament is argued from the following considerations. That while such countenance, on the part of the Divinity, to the pretended determinations of the superstitious science of astrology, as is implied in the whole story of the Magi and their guiding star, is antecedently incredible⁴, the diligent enquiry which Herod is represented to have made of these wise men respecting the precise time when their star appeared, even while his hope was to gain possession of the Child himself *by their means*, is an anticipation betraying the real character of the story: since it is only his alleged subsequent purpose, when he found himself unexpectedly "mocked" by them, of killing all the Bethlehemite children within that limit, and thus including the Christ in a promiscuous slaughter, that gives to this enquiry and precise ascertainment of time, in our critic's judgment, any meaning or probability⁵. To this mark of a preconceived catastrophe having dictated the whole scheme of the narrative, is added the apparent want of management in the crafty tyrant, in not conducting the enquiry by his own emissaries, while he detained the Magi at Jerusalem⁶; the silence of other authors, and particularly of the minute historian of Herod's life and proceedings, respecting the extraordinary barbarity of this general infanticide⁷; the false citation, as it is confidently alleged, of Jeremiah for this massacre, of Micah for the place of Christ's birth, of Hosea for his call from Egypt, also of Isaiah, or some other prophet, for his dwelling at Naza-

⁴ Strauss, Vol. I. pp. 281, 282.

⁶ *Id.* pp. 284—286.

⁵ *Id.* pp. 283, 284.

⁷ *Id.* pp. 290—292.

reth⁸; and (what is further added as a proof of human composition) the prodigality in accumulating marvellous circumstances, viz. a star and four distinct nightly warnings, to accomplish what might be apparently done with much less; thus greatly violating the well-known *lex parcimonie*, which right judgment requires in the construction of every story where divine interferences have a place⁹.

These objections then being considered as annulling the historical character of the supernatural relation, as it stands, and as it is received by orthodox interpreters, our author next disposes¹⁰, after his manner, of the attempts of the rationalistic school to save the history by resolving its miraculous part into physical or psychological facts. In this class (while he includes the hypothesis of Keppler and others, though dictated by very different views from this, that a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Pisces A.U.C. 747, three years before Herod's death, was the phænomenon connected by the Magi with the birth of the Jewish King¹¹), he gives the first place to the ingenious speculation of Dr Paulus, converting these foreign sages to learned *Jews* resident in the East, and their star to an incidental meteor, which they see on their way to Jerusalem for commercial or other purposes, quite unconnected with the new-born King, of whom they first hear in that city; explaining also the dreams as merely natural surmises, and the prophetic citations as arbitrary applications of Scripture¹². Not far removed from the utter baselessness and gratuitous absurdity of this latter rationalistic view is the scheme of the inconsistent mythists whom Strauss proceeds to notice: who think that the arrival at this conjuncture of some Arabian merchants, known to Joseph and Mary, who make them congratulatory presents on their infant's birth, was worked up by the imagination of the early Christians into this fabled visit of Magi; and that an actual contemporary slaughter ordered by Herod at Bethlehem, though unconnected

⁸ Strauss, I. pp. 282, 290, 292, 293.

⁹ *Id.* pp. 292, 3.

¹⁰ Viz. in § 35, following the section to which the preceding references belong.

¹¹ Strauss, I. p. 297.

¹² *Id.* I. pp. 294—296, 297—299. Against Paulus's kind endeavour to excuse the Evangelist in the matter of the citation of Micah's prophecy, by stating that it was an error of the *Sanhedrim* only, Strauss shews truly that St Matthew adopts and confirms their interpretation in the fullest manner. See note 83 *inf.* The methods by which the citations of the other prophecies are salved over, and their departure from approved rationalist hermeneutics evaded or explained away, are with equal success shewn to be groundless and absurd.

in fact with the birth of Jesus and the foreign visitors, became connected with both, and with the Magian adoration in the Christian legend¹³. These hypotheses are pronounced by our critic more incomprehensible than the orthodox explanation: for in depriving the events of their miraculous envelopment, they remove, as he observes, all that gives them either basis or consistency. The visit, the massacre, the flight to Egypt, have their adequate causes in St Matthew's story, but have here none. And this rebuke of the half-mythic half-rationalistic explanation is extended also to certain inconsistent supernaturalists, such as Neander; who, assuming as real facts the wise men's journey to Jerusalem on account of the star, with the massacre and the flight arising out of that event, yet reject the intermediate circumstances respecting their guidance to Bethlehem; substituting for St Matthew's account of their mode of finding the Christ, other enquiries and directions of a more ordinary character¹⁴.

In place of all this inconsistency and groundless hypothesis, Strauss proposes with confidence the *purely mythical* solution: that the remembered prophecy of Balaam concerning the Star of Jacob produced, even *without any intervening reality*, this story as its alleged accomplishment; the name assumed by the pretended Messiah in the days of Adrian, Barcochebas, 𐤁𐤓𐤕𐤌, *Son of the Star*, attesting the prevalence of this notion, as do also the Rabbinical legends concerning the stars that indicated the births of Abraham, Moses, and other eminent persons of the old dispensation; to all which the imaginations of Christians necessarily supplied anti-types, when Jesus was proclaimed as the Messiah¹⁵. The visit of the Gentile great men and their offerings are a mythus suggested by Isaiah lx. 1, 2; Psalm lxxii. 10, 11, &c. &c. And as the heavenly sign has its parallel in the

¹³ *Id.* p. 299 seq. Of the rationalistic and semi-mythic schemes, which, admitting the historical character of the facts, thus laboriously distort the evangelic statement in order to be rid of its supernatural element, Strauss says, "Wie die Orientalen in ein Verhältniss zu Jesu Eltern und dem Kinde kommen, ist in der Erzählung des Matthäus vollständig motivirt: bei der zuletzt ausgeführten Erklärungsweise aber bleibt es ein wunderlicher Zufall. Das Blutbad zu Bethlehem hat in der evangelischen Geschichte seine bestimmte Veranlassung: hier aber begreift man nicht, wie Herodes dazu gekommen sein soll, es zu veranstalten, und ebenso steht die Reise Jesu nach Aegypten, so dringend begründet bei Matthäus, bei dieser Ansicht ganz unerklärlich da" (p. 300).

¹⁴ *Leben Jesu*, I. 301, 302; in which the yet greater inconsistency of the rationalizing *supernaturalist* is pointed out with equal success.

¹⁵ Strauss, I. Abschnitt, § 36. Vol. I. pp. 362, 3.

mode by which the births of great men in the heathen world were prognosticated¹⁶, so also has the escape of the infant King from Herod's murderous design in the Herodotean Cyrus's escape from Astyages; in that of the Livian Romulus from Amulius; or, to come nearer home, in those of the Rabbinical Abraham from Nimrod, and the Biblical Moses from Pharaoh¹⁷. In this last eminent type of the Saviour, and elsewhere, Egypt has its assigned place as the land of the alien enemy of God's people: only as Jesus could not be made in after years, like Moses, to fly *from* Egypt, as this analogy would require, the next best thing is done in making him seek security by flying *to* that same country; applying to his return thence to Palestine the very words employed in Exodus respecting Moses's return from Arabia to Egypt¹⁸: and then, as it were to remedy the inver-

¹⁶ Particularly that of Augustus some 60 years earlier, when a prodigy excited the expectation that a King of the world, predicted by the Sibyls, was actually born; and induced the Senate to decree that no male child born in that year should be brought up: a decree only suppressed through the exertions of some senators, whose wives were pregnant, to prevent its registration. "Auctor est Julius Marathus, ante paucos quam nasceretur menses, prodigium Romæ factum publice, quo denuntiabatur regem populi Romani Naturam parturire: Senatum exterritum censuisse ne quis illo anno genitus educaretur; eos qui gravidæ uxores haberent, quo ad se quisque spem traheret, curasse ne senatusconsultum ad ærarium deferretur" (Sueton. *Octav.* § 94). Strauss, who quotes this (but omitting the authority) because the early part suits his purpose, forbears to enlarge on the latter portion; though his argument requires him to maintain distinctly that the abortive decree there mentioned is as fabulous as that of Nimrod. It is somewhat strong even for Strauss to deny this proceeding of the Roman Senate to be a historical event, because connected with superstition: to make it the mere mythus which the unscrupulous Bauer had pronounced Pharaoh's edict to be for destroying the Hebrew male children of Gosen; or as the yet more unscrupulous De Wette and himself are labouring to shew of Herod's edict against the male children of Bethlehem. Does not the occurrence of such an order as this in the centre of the civilized world—an order only prevented taking effect through the working of that same aristocratic republicanism whose selfish fears dictated it—go a great way towards refuting the *à priori* arguments of our author, and such as he, against the order of the single tyrant Herod (dictated by much more substantial fears, and limited by no such controlling influences) at Jerusalem?

¹⁷ The Biblical account has no special reference to Moses in Pharaoh's infanticidal order, as Strauss confesses: but he remarks (i. 309), that this further parallel circumstance to the case of our Saviour was added in the later Jewish representation of the event. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* Lib. II. cap. ix. § 2.

Amidst the parallels of our Saviour's escape from Herod, Strauss has omitted that which is its principal type in the Old Testament, the escape of David from Saul. This is doubtless because it is not, like that of Moses, the escape of an infant: yet he has introduced in the same connexion an adult flight of a character no less remote, viz. that of the same Moses when forty years old to Madian from the reigning Pharaoh: being led to this by the absurd reason to be mentioned in the following note.

¹⁸ The verbal coincidence of Exod. iv. 19 and Matt. ii. 20 is one that could scarcely be avoided when so much of circumstance was common to events otherwise so very different: neither is the plural in St Matthew a servile adoption of what belongs only to the Mosaic narrative, Pharaoh being not less an individual, nor more surrounded by persons interested also in the victim's destruction, than was

sion, applying to that same return directly the passage of Hosea, "OUT OF *Egypt* have I called my Son."

Now if this is to be accepted as an adequate solution of the sacred story in this place, we might in any case employ the same method of reasoning, and thus reduce to the character of fiction every historical exemplification of a great general truth by conjuring up a host of spectral representations of it. Such a confusion of substance and shadow is ever possible: and such we have here. In the two cited instances of the respective founders of the Roman and Persian monarchies, there is a general phænomenon in human affairs which they both independently exemplify, and to which other narratives, more fabulous in texture than even the former of them, bear real witness also; viz. the disposition of ambitious men, when they have possessed themselves of supreme power, to rid themselves, as effectually and radically as they may with safety, of all whose claims endanger their own. Who can doubt that the multiplied experience of this must have preceded the propensity to imagine it? If therefore such a proceeding in the Median or Turanian conqueror of Persia, the Azdehak or Afrasiab of eastern story, with respect to the offspring of his own princess and her Achæmenian consort, be found variously represented with my-

Herod. Yet in this coincidence Strauss finds a proof that the later narrative is but the mythical offspring of the elder one; a flight from Egypt, and a flight into Egypt, being all one, when that country must somehow or other be introduced on account of its patriarchal associations! This Strauss calls a *most simple* explanation, and perhaps the reader may agree with him: "Das nun aber Jesus gerade nach Aegypten geflüchtet wird, diess erklärt sich wohl am einfachsten so. Da der junge Messias nicht, wie Moses, aus Aegypten zu fliehen hatte, so kehrte man, um doch die bedeutsame Oertlichkeit Aegyptens, dieser alten Zufluchtsstätte der Erzväter, nicht zu verlieren, das Verhältniss um, und liess ihn *nach* Aegypten sich begeben, welches überdiess der Nachbarschaft wegen das geeignetste Asyl für einen aus Judäa Fliehenden war" (p. 311). And then comes the reference to Hosea, which he is prevented from using entirely for his purpose (as in other similar instances), because he had made the citation of it for Christ a ground of attack on St Matthew.

The absurdity of saying that in Judæo-mythic conception the fleeing *from* Egypt and *to* Egypt are much the same thing can hardly be estimated adequately without taking into account the special denunciations in the two principal prophets against making that country an asylum at all, and the actual doom of destruction which in the days of the latter befel those who took refuge with Apries from the apprehended vengeance of the Chaldæan conqueror. Is. xxx. 1—15; Jer. xlii. xliii. xliv. True it is that these denunciations had no restraining force on Him who came to realize in this respect the type of Israel, their original progenitor, as the citation of Hosea implies, and to remove the curse from Egypt as from other Gentile nations by calling them eventually to Himself. But they are decisive against Strauss's speculation; which makes mere ideas founded on the prophetic Scriptures, without any intervening reality, to have engendered all the particulars believed respecting the infant Christ, and this Egyptian asylum among the rest.

thic amplifications in the narratives of Herodotus and of Ferdusi; or if, from more doubtful echoes of such Oriental proceedings, we obtain the Mahabharatic legends of the infant Crishna of the Lunar race and the tyrant Cansa who would destroy him¹⁹; what should we think of one who would seriously adduce the fabulousness of such stories for the purpose of aiding the "historic doubts²⁰" that might attach to analogous proceedings in modern times, such as those of our Richard III., of Aurengezeib and other Mogul emperors, or some late Turkish sultans? We charge with similar absurdity the application of the same examples to that more ancient but not less historic period with which we are now concerned: and we appeal to its confessed records in support of the charge. That purely creative species of mythical formation which the Straussian hypothesis involves, viz. one that, without any other historic ground than the appearance of a believed Christ, proceeds to invest all surrounding Him with whatever is suitable to the believer's imaginations and prepossessions *respecting Him*,—this could not, from the nature of things, be historically accurate as to those circumambient characters themselves. Let us then see how the case stands here: let us see how far this unvarying mark of the mere mythus, whenever by accident it is attached to well-known historic personages, has betrayed its existence in the Gospel narrative.

There is scarcely any person in the ancient world, whose character has been more minutely and graphically exhibited to us from unquestioned authority, than he with whom the infant Saviour is here brought by the Gospel story into contact. Of Edomite extraction²¹, and though by legal incorporation of his

¹⁹ See Sir W. Jones's (sixth) *Discourse on the Persians*, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II. p. 45, ed. Calcutt., and the *Vishnu-Purána*, Book v. ch. 3, 4, 5, 16, pp. 498—538 of Wilson's Translation.

²⁰ It was not to the mythic imagination of Lancastrian monks, excited by the old topics of classical or sacred story, and so attached to the English usurper, that Horace Walpole would attribute the formation of what he ingeniously maintained to be an untruth; but to more immediate sources of calumny belonging to the actual time. And so of every other instance treated by sane investigators.

²¹ Nicolaus of Damascus indeed asserted that Herod's father Antipater, the founder of his fortunes, was descended from the principal Jews who returned (with Zorobabel) from Babylon; *ἐκ τῶν πρώτων Ἰουδαίων τῶν ἐκ Βαβυλῶνος εἰς τὴν Ἰουδαίαν ἀφικομένων*. But this he said purely to gratify the yet more successful son, *χαρίζμενος Ἡρώδῃ τῷ παιδί αὐτοῦ, βασιλεῖ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἐκ τύχης τινὸς γενομένῳ*, as Josephus says in reporting the statement, *Ant. Jud. Lib. xiv. c. i. § 3*. The same motive which led that accomplished Gentile writer to befriend Herod actively on all occasions, and on one occasion to plead for him successfully with

family an Israelite, yet destitute of all ancestral claim to *royalty* over the nation of whose sacred rites he partook, HEROD had elevated himself by commanding talents, and the successive patronage of Julius Cæsar and M. Antony, till a decree of the Roman senate conferred on him that sovereign rule in Palestine which, for more than a century preceding, had been exercised by the Levitical family of the Asmonæans²². An uneasy consciousness of the defects of his position as a Jew, and an attention, ever watchful and suspicious, to the cherished feelings of his nation, were leading principles of his conduct from first to last. And whether bent on seeking the extinction of such feelings by the introduction of pagan tastes among the people²³, or

Augustus, led him also to distort history in his favour, to accuse Mariamne of adultery and her sons of treason, and in every way to whitewash the tyrant, the merit of whose early good deeds he also over-stated, as the same Josephus observes, *Ant. Jud.* xvi. c. 7, § 1.

This pretension of Herod, however, supported by his heathen friend and panegyrist, shews the importance he attached to the claim of good Jewish ancestry, and to wiping away the actual stain of his own. Josephus distinctly asserts in the place first cited that the Antipater who was Herod's father was an *Idumæan*, and that he was first called Antipas, as was his father before him, the governor of that country under Alexander Jannæus, Idumæa having been previously conquered and proselyted by John Hyrcanus. Nevertheless, the assertion of Nicolaus of Damascus is believed in preference by the learned chronologer, Augustin Tourniel, who argues from the existence of the Herodians as a Jewish sect, that Herod must have been of the race of David. But it is weak to argue from men who might have been merely courtly flatterers, when even Josephus, who was a Pharisee, spoke of *Vespasian* as the Messiah: and the other arguments adduced for this prove only that Herod was not a heathen in religion. The truth lies between this notion of Tourniel and the extreme opinion advocated by Baronius and some of the ancients, that Herod was altogether a Gentile; viz. that which I have expressed in the text, agreeably to Josephus's testimony, and which has been solidly established by Casaubon and others. *Exercit. i. in Baronium*, Artt. 3, 4, 5.

²² Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* Lib. xiv. cc. 11, 15, 16. The decree of the senate constituting him king of the Jews was obtained by him in the autumn of A. U. C. 714 (Cn. Domitio Calvino et C. Asinio Pollione *Coss.*), 40 years before our vulgar æra. His actual entrance on the kingdom was three years later than this (M. Agrippa et L. Caninio Gallo *Coss.*) when with Roman aid he took Jerusalem from the Parthians, and deposed their ally, his rival Antigonus, the last of the Asmonæans who actually reigned.

The reluctance of the Jews to admit Herod for their king instead of the Asmonæan dynasty is attested by an impartial and unexceptionable Gentile authority, Strabo of Cappadocia, who gives it as the motive that induced Antony, after receiving the rich spoils of Jerusalem from Herod, to behead the captive Antigonus at Antioch, instead of reserving him for his triumph at Rome: an act which Strabo reprobates as an unprecedented atrocity. The passage, not now found in his extant writings, is thus quoted by Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* xv. 1, § 2: *Μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ Στράβων ὁ Καππαδόξ λέγων οὕτως. "Ἀντώνιος μὲν Ἀντίγονον τὸν Ἰουδαῖον ἀχθέντα εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν πελεκίξει· καὶ ἔδοξε μὲν οὗτος πρῶτος Ῥωμαίων βασιλεῖα πελεκίσαι, οὐκ οἰηθεὶς ἕτερον τρόπον μεταθεῖναι ἂν τὰς γνώμας τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ὥστε δέξασθαι τὸν ἀντ' ἐκείνου καθεστῆμενον Ἡρώδην. οὐδὲ γὰρ βασανιζόμενοι βασιλεῖα αὐτὸν ἀναγορεύειν ὑπέμειναν, οὕτως μέγα τι ἐφρόνουσι περὶ τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως. τὴν οὖν ἀτιμίαν ἐνόμισε μειώσκειν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν μνήμης, μειώσκειν δὲ καὶ τὸ πρὸς Ἡρώδην μῖσος."* Ταῦτα μὲν ὁ Στράβων.

²³ Such as the erection of a theatre at Jerusalem, and an amphitheatre in the

(sensible of the danger of a course tried with such signal failure by the foreign Grecian lords) desiring to enlist those properly Jewish sentiments on his side by zeal in rebuilding the temple, and other religious works²⁴, still was there one object which he steadfastly and invariably pursued, and from which neither fear nor favour had power to divert him, that of extirpating every known rival. His first dread was necessarily directed to that Aaronic family which he displaced, and which the remembrance of the great Maccabæan struggle endeared to the whole nation. And here, though by affection as well as policy united to that family in the person of his queen Mariamne, and though induced by fear of general resentment to confer on her younger brother Aristobulus the high priesthood which he had rather wished to vest in an obscure person, (in room of the ex-king Hyrcanus), he provides that the elevation of the young man, and his growing popularity, should be soon followed by his murder; an act for which all hold the tyrant in abhorrence, and even Antony calls him to account²⁵. After the battle of Actium, when his affairs are in the eyes of friends and foes all but desperate, and when all depends on the chance of pacifying the victor Octavius for his adherence to the cause of the vanquished, he will first, before seeking him, even in this emergency, rid himself of the one claimant that might be most probably made

plain, both disgusting to Jewish eyes; the invitation of foreign *athletæ* to these exhibitions, whose nakedness alone was abomination to the Israelites; the exhibition of *trophies* which they could not be prevented from suspecting to contain teraphim or images; the employment of heathen musicians called *thymelici*; the celebration of solemn quinquennial games in honour of Cæsar both in Jerusalem and at Cæsarea and the other cities he founded, to which he also attached Greek or Roman names generally, instead of the Hebrew ones they had before,—as Sebaste for Samaria, Antipatris (in honour of his father) for Capharsaba, &c. &c. These measures, and others of a like pagan character, early excited discontents and conspiracies against him; and when at a late period of his reign the expenses of such works led him to the sacrilegious impiety (hateful even in heathen eyes) of opening David's tomb for treasures to defray them, the horror of the Jews was extreme. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xv. cc. 8, 9, 10; xvi. 5, 7, &c.

²⁴ See Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xv. 11, for the views with which Herod undertook the great work of rebuilding the temple, and the incredulity with which at first the people received what afterwards excited the greatest joy and gratitude. Also xvi. 2, for the manner in which he pleaded the cause of the Jews in Ionia, and liberty to observe the Mosaic customs, before the Roman president of Syria, by means of his friend Nicolaus: and how this was ably turned to his praise both with Jews and Gentiles.

²⁵ See the details respecting the high priesthood, and the murder of Aristobulus in the baths of Jericho, in Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xv. 3. Nor should we overlook the detestable order Herod left behind him, both on this journey to Antony, and the subsequent one to Octavius, that if his life were sacrificed by the Roman, his beloved Mariamne should be slain also (xv. 3, § 5, and 6, § 5).

king of the Jews instead of himself, the aged Hyrcanus. And though his difficulties with the Roman lord could not but be multiplied by this new atrocity, he finds pretexts for the judicial death of the old man; whom, for the mere purpose of having thus in his power, he had some years before invited with insidious respect to Jerusalem from his Parthian exile²⁶. From all difficulties, however, his matchless address extricates him. A short interview at Rhodes makes him even greater with Augustus than he had been with Antony: yet does not success remove or allay his ever-watchful suspicion. When his prosperity is no matter of joy but of horror to his queen, who has wrongs of her own to add to the murder of her brother and her grandfather, ample materials are furnished to the designing members of his own family, who knew his temperament, to accuse her of infidelity. Amidst fearful misgivings and revulsions of mind, he at length orders the death of Mariamne: a death soon followed up with more reckless contrivance by the destruction of her mother and kindred, and all vestige of the Asmonæan family²⁷.

Such then was Herod in the first twelve years of his reign, before the accumulated domestic calamities of the twenty-five years that followed had given the final exasperation to his barbarous and tyrannical character. Such was his conduct towards the regal and sacerdotal house that first stood in the way of his new dynasty, the descendants of the famed John Hyrcanus and his Maccabæan father, whom a century and a half of prosperous rule had associated with the restored independence and glory of Israel. If such was his feeling towards them, while yet his own offspring by Mariamne of that house were the destined succes-

²⁶ For the inveigling of Hyrcanus from the Parthian king Phraates, by whom he had been honourably treated, his too credulous acceptance of Herod's invitation, and reception at Jerusalem with professed reverence and affection, see Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xv. c. 2, §§ 1—4. His destruction by his perfidious rival is told in c. 6, §§ 1—6, of the same book. Though the mode and pretext are variously reported, of the fact there is no doubt, nor of its being perpetrated at this particular crisis of Herod's affairs, when ἀπέγνωστο αὐτῷ τε Ἡρώδῃ τὰ πράγματα καὶ τοῖς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁμοίως ἐχθροῖς τε καὶ φίλοις, through the unexpected overthrow of the Triumvir whom he had actively abetted A.U.C. 723. This desperation even by himself, which would have caused most men to renounce all idea of an act that promised nothing but aggravated ruin, evinces the ruling passion of his mind most powerfully.

²⁷ Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xv. c. 6, § 7, & c. 7: the result of these murderous proceedings being summed up in the words ὥστε εἶναι μηδὲν ὑπόλοιπον ἐκ τῆς Ὑρκανοῦ συγγενείας, ἀλλὰ τὴν βασιλεῖαν αὐτεξούσιον αὐτῷ [Ἡρώδῃ], μηθενὸς ὄντος ἐπ' ἀξιώματος ἐμποδῶν ἵστασθαι τοῖς παρανομουμένοις.

sors of his throne, to the exclusion of all other children, (for such continued his purpose for more than fourteen years after her execution²⁸;) what must have been his feeling with respect to claims less capable of conciliation with his own, and founded on sentiments more deeply seated in the inmost heart of the nation than any that bound them to the Asmonæan kings,—the claim of the house of *David*, that yet unequalled sovereign of the true royal tribe of Judah, whose glories of conquest and prosperity should be eclipsed only by those of his Anointed Son? The hope of this royal Branch, yet future, which, even in the midst of the long sacerdotal rule, had never ceased to animate the religious Jews, was now growing to more fervid intensity, when, after the Roman conquest, the time marked by prophecy for the new eternal dominion appeared close at hand: and from the testimony of his secular historian alone we have sufficient materials for determining what was Herod's feeling respecting this. We find him, within two years of his death, imposing on the whole people an oath of fidelity to Cæsar and himself, as if with a view to obviate this national expectation: this oath is refused by six thousand Pharisees, in confidence of the divine counsels assigning the speedy conclusion of his dynasty, and a King approaching to whom nothing would be impossible: whereupon Herod, having learnt that the recusants' story and esteemed sanctity had impressed some distinguished persons of his own household, whom they had also artfully possessed with the hope of profiting by the miraculous power of the coming Sovereign, ordered the chief of those Pharisees, and all of his own family who had listened to them, including some of his principal favourites, to be put to death²⁹. But let us look

²⁸ Namely, till A. U. C. 743, the 30th year of his declared royalty: when he nominated Antipater, his eldest son by Doris, the heir-apparent to his crown, and after him the two sons of Mariamne. Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* XVI. 3, § 3, & 4, § 6. This arrangement, the fruit of preceding intrigues in his house, inflamed the existing heart-burnings still more: the result of which was seen five years after in the judicial death of the last two, and the first being declared sole heir. *Ibid.* ch. II.

²⁹ Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* XVII. 2, § 4: Καὶ ἦν γὰρ μύριόν τι Ἰουδαϊκῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπ' ἀκριβῶσει μέγα φρονοῦν τοῦ πατρίου νόμου, οἷς χαίρειν τὸ θεῖον προσποιουμένων ὑπῆκτο ἡ γυναικωνίτις. Φαρισαῖοι καλοῦνται, βασιλεῦσι δυνάμενοι μάλιστα ἀντιπράσσειν, προμηθεῖς, καὶ τοῦ προὔπου εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν τε καὶ βλέπτεν ἐπηρεζόμενοι. πάντες γοῦν τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ βεβαίωσαντος δι' ὅρων ἢ μὴν εἰνοῆσαι Καίσαρι, καὶ τοῖς βασιλέωσι πράγμασι, οἷδε οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ὤμοσαν, ὄντες ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχίλιοι· καὶ αὐτοὺς βασιλέωσι ζημιώσαντος χρήμασι, ἡ Φερώρου γυνὴ τὴν ζημίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰσφέρει. οἱ δὲ ἀμειβόμενοι τὴν εὐνοίαν αὐτῆς (πρόγνωσιν δὲ ἐπεπιστεύοντο ἐπιφοιτήσει τοῦ Θεοῦ), προύλεγον, ὡς Ἐρώδης μὲν καταπαύσεως ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ἐψηφισμένης αὐτῷ τε

to the sequel of this affair; the unravelling of which gives the first clue to the designs of that son of Herod, who was then in the ascendant in Judæa, his first-born Antipater, the offspring of his private station and ignoble marriage. The discovery is made, soon after, when he has gone to Rome, that he is involved in schemes of treason and parricide: the very crime by the false charge of which he had not long before effected the destruction of his two innocent brothers, the sons of Mariamne³⁰. His return to Judæa, his trial and conviction and detention in custody till Augustus's leave was obtained for further proceedings, is closely followed by the last deadly sickness of the wretched father³¹. Then it was, that, animated by the expected decease of the tyrant, and the eloquent exhortations of two doctors of the law, the populace tore down in open day the heathen abomination that had so long offended their sight, the golden eagle which Herod had set up at the temple-gate. The boldness of the outrage calls forth Herod himself from his bed of disease and pain. He harangues the people on its enormity, his own eminent services and their ingratitude; and, reserving the other ringleaders for milder deaths, he sends the two rabbinical instigators, Judas and Matthias, to Jericho, whither he speedily follows them, and orders them to be burnt alive³².

καὶ γένοι τῷ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τῆς τε βασιλείας εἰς τε ἐκείνην περιηξούσης καὶ Φερώραν, παῖδός τε οἱ εἴεν αὐτοῖς. καὶ τάδε, οὐ γὰρ ἐλάνθανεν τὴν Σαλώμην, ἐξαγγελτὰ βασιλεῖ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι τῶν περὶ τὴν αὐλὴν διαφθείροιν τινας. καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν τε Φαρισαίων τοὺς αἰτιωτάτους ἀναίρει, καὶ Βαγῶν τὸν εὐνοῦχον, Καρὸν τε τινὰ τῶν τότε προσχόντα ἀρετῇ τοῦ εὐπρεποῦς, καὶ παιδικὰ ὄντα αὐτοῦ· κτείνει δὲ καὶ πᾶν ὃ, τι τοῦ οἴκελου συνειστήκει οἷς ὁ Φαρισαῖος ἔλεγεν. ἦρτο δὲ ὁ Βαγῶας ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὡς πατήρ τε καὶ εὐεργέτης ὀνομασθησόμενος τοῦ ἐπικατασταθησομένου προβόρῃσει βασιλέως· κατὰ χεῖρα γὰρ ἐκείνῳ πάντα εἶναι, παρέξοντος αὐτῷ γάμου τε ἰσχὺν, καὶ παιδώσεως τέκνων γυναικῶν.

The great John Keppler connects this extraordinary affair of the 6000 Pharisees with the excitement occasioned by the Magi's coming to Jerusalem. (See Spanheim, *Dub. Evang.* Tom. II. p. 163 seq.) And Lardner, amidst many other speculations (some of them most farfetched and improbable), connects the oath they refused with the census at the time of our Lord's birth. *Works*, Vol. I. pp. 278—292. This is not the time for entering into these questions. My present argument only requires the production of this as an illustration of Herod's character.

³⁰ See Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* XVI. 10, 11, for the earlier event, and for the later, *Ant. Jud.* XVII. 4.

³¹ *Ib.* cc. 5, 6.

³² c. 6. §§ 2, 3, 4. Καὶ ἡ σελήνη δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ νυκτὶ ἐξέλιπεν, viz. on the night when Judas and Matthias were burnt. This eclipse, as calculated by Keppler, Petavius, and Whiston*, was on March 13 of the 42nd year of the Julian calendar,

* Petav. *de Doctrina Temporum*, Tom. I. p. 504. Whiston, *Prælectiones Astronomicæ*, p. 451; Hottinger *Pentast Dissertationum*, p. 245, seq. The circumstance of the passover being near at hand, and the dates of Herod's reign, and that of his successor, exclude every other eclipse beside this of Keppler.

The few weeks that remained to him of life are signalized by the union of bodily sufferings too horrible to particularize, with a frantic but yet studied inhumanity, which in almost any other man might seem incredible. The principal men of Judæa are summoned to Jericho, and placed under a guard in the hippodrome or race-course of the city; and strict orders are given to his sister Salome, that the moment when he expired should be that of their indiscriminate slaughter, that all the families of Israel might be mourners at his death. This is followed by his own attempted suicide, and the execution of Antipater, who had in the confusion attempted to escape; and whose death, thus precipitated, preceded by five days that of his father. But even in these acts of extreme fury, there is a consciousness and a fixed determination that evince this to be but the fitting complement of his whole life. The death of his son is not ordered till just after Cæsar's letters were received authorizing his punishment. This is followed by a very well arranged testamentary distribution of his dominions to the three sons, Archelaus, Antipas, and Philip, to be submitted to Cæsar's approval: and even the inhuman order that preceded the message of Augustus, and for which he did not esteem the imperial sanction necessary,—an order which neither Salome nor Archelaus would dare, however disposed, to carry into effect,—even this is issued in no frenzied paroxysm, but with deliberate purpose and reasons annexed; the manner in which it is urged on his relatives strongly indicating his habitual feeling towards the Jews, and the national sentiments that prevailed among them respecting his person and rule³³.

The facts thus imperfectly stated are surely enough, when presented to any reasonable judgment, to remove all *antecedent* incredibility, as far as Herod's habitual conduct and motives are concerned, from the deceitful and cruel proceedings told in St Matthew's second chapter. For these are in no respect more atro-

A.U.C. 750, B.C. 4, being the 37th year of his title as king of the Jews, and the 34th of his actual reign at Jerusalem: and it happened on the full moon of the month *Adar*, the last of the Jewish sacred months. All the following events of that chapter and the two succeeding in Josephus, ending with Herod's death, testament, and burial, took place in the month between this and the Paschal full moon of *Nisan*, April 13, when the people, assembled at the feast of unleavened bread, raised a sedition against their new king Archelaus on account of these events, as we read in the 9th chapter, § 3.

³³ See the above-cited chapters of Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* xvii. 6, 7, 8, also *de Bell. Jud.* i. 33.

cious than what we thus hear of his practice on other occasions. They are indeed just such as we might expect from his known character, supposing such circumstances as the Evangelist records to have been really presented to him. If then the whole were excogitated, as our mythist would have it, on no historic basis of the time³⁴, from the mere fanciful reminiscence of Nimrod, Pharaoh, and the rest, the coincidence with Herod's usual principles and mode of action is, to say the least, most singularly and unprecedentedly fortunate. Nor is the chronological coincidence less singularly happy. This death of Herod is fixed by indubitable marks to the year of Rome 750, Juliano 42, Actiaco 27, when C. Calvisius Sabinus and L. Passienus Rufus were consuls: which, though four years before the date which Dionysius Exiguus fixed for our Saviour's birth, and which is now the vulgar era, is the very year at which a far older tradition fixes the Lord's Nativity, and from which the best Christian authorities do not vary more than a year or two³⁵. The

³⁴ After citing Josephus for Pharaoh's proceedings against Moses, and the Rabbinical writings quoted by Fabricius for Nimrod's against Abraham, Strauss says, "Was Wunder, dass man nun, wie dem Stammvater und dem Gesetzgeber, so auch dem Wiederhersteller der Nation, dem Messias, einen andern Nimrod und Pharaon in der Person des Herodes entgegenstellte, diesem durch Weise seine Geburt verkündigen, ihn dem Neugeborenen nach dem Leben trachten, diesen aber seinen Nachstellungen glücklich entkommen liess?" *Leben Jesu*, i. 310.

³⁵ Sulpicius Severus, *Sacr. Hist.* Lib. II. cap. 39. That ancient writer, however correct in the absolute year, is incorrect in supposing that the year of Sabinus and Rufinus's consulship was the 34th of Herod, and four years before the close of his reign, which with Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xvii. 8, § 1, and *Bell. Jud.* i. 33, § 8, he correctly makes thirty-seven years. (To conciliate this opinion of Sulpicius and Epiphanius, that our Lord's birth preceded by four years the death of Herod, with the true date of that event, which the duration of his reign and that of Archelaus his son both fix undoubtedly to the period mentioned in note 32 *sup.*, it would be necessary to throw back our Lord's birth eight years before the vulgar era. And this is the opinion supported with great ability and learning by Dom. Magnan, *Problema de Anno Nat. Christi*, Rom. 1772. But no account, at least none before the 12th century, has placed our Lord's birth so early as this.)

The statement of St Clement of Alexandria (to which agrees that of Tertullian *adv. Judæos*, cap. 8, of St Chrysostom in *Corinth.*, St Jerome in *Daniel.*, and Cassiodorus) makes our Lord's birth but a year later, viz. anno Actiaco 28, or A.U.C. 751, ante ær. vulg. 3, when Lentulus and Messalinus were consuls. 'Ἐγεννήθη δὲ ὁ Κύριος ἡμῶν τῷ ὀγδόῳ καὶ εἰκοστῷ ἔτει, ὅτε πρῶτον ἐκέλευσαν ἀπογραφὰς γενέσθαι, ἐπὶ Αὐγούστου. Ὅτι δὲ τοῦτο ἀληθές ἐστιν, ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ τῷ κατὰ Λουκᾶν γέγραπται οὕτως. Ἐτεὶ δὲ πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ ἐπὶ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος, ἐγένετο ῥῆμα Κυρίου ἐπὶ Ἰωάννην τὸν Ζαχαρίου υἱὸν καὶ πάλιν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ. ἦν δὲ Ἰησοῦς ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὡς ἐτῶν ἴ'. Καὶ ὅτι ἐναντὸν μόνον ἔδει αὐτὸν κηρύξαι, καὶ τοῦτο γέγραπται οὕτως. Ἐναντὸν δεκτὸν Κυρίου κηρύξαι ἀπέστειλέν με. τοῦτο καὶ ὁ προφήτης εἶπεν, καὶ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον. πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ οὖν ἔτει Τιβερίου, καὶ πεντεκαίδεκάτῳ Αὐγούστου· οὕτως πληροῦται τὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἕως οὗ ἔπαθεν· ἀφ' οὗ δὲ ἔπαθεν ἕως τῆς καταστροφῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, γίνονται ἔτη μβ', μῆνες γ'. [St Clem. Alex. *Strom.* Lib. I. p. 249 D. *Ed.* Heinsii.] (This, as well as the later opinion of some other ancients, would require for its verification to postdate the death of Herod.)

agreement therefore of time and of character being thus complete, a double test which mere fables attached to historic personages seldom or never satisfy, we will not now discuss with Dr Strauss the other points of alleged antecedent improbability, till the remaining matters of properly historic objection are fairly disposed of. In our view of the mystery of God stooping to human flesh, there is nothing in the strangest phenomenon by which such a fact could be presented to Jews or Gentiles, of which right reason can pronounce that it is antecedently improbable, or such as no accredited record could entitle to belief. And on this we shall say more hereafter. But let us now consider, as we are bound, the historical reasons, if any can be produced, for maintaining that no such transactions as these could have signalized the birth of our Lord.

The silence of all other testimony respecting the Magi and the Bethlehemitic massacre is the argument apparently most relied on by the unbelievers here. Now even if we admitted the universality of such silence, the argument drawn from it has evidently no weight, except with reference to authors who treat professedly and largely on Jewish affairs. But there is none beside Flavius Josephus, who has handed down to posterity such notices of the acts and times of Herod as to make his silence respecting any event, however striking in itself, that was confined to the limits of Palestine, a thing in the least remarkable or needing explanation. That the Jewish historian's silence on this event is remarkable, and needs to be accounted for, I would not deny. But have those who urge it here considered well his silence on a matter far more necessarily present to his mind,—the great phenomenon of his age, the fact that above all others made the Jewish nation important to the Gentile readers for whom his history was designed,—I mean the origin and progress of Christianity from its bosom? In his account, otherwise accurate and laudatory, of St John the Baptist, not the least mention is made of Him to whom he bore witness as a precursor³⁶. Again, in the unsatisfactory account which we find, in the twentieth book of the Antiquities, of the unjust

All these writers, Sulpicius Severus included, with singular consent, place our Lord's Passion A.U.C. 782, anno Tiberii 16, when the two Gemini were Consuls, A.D. 29 of the vulgar era.

³⁶ Joseph. *Antiq. Jud.* XVIII. 5. § 2. This passage is unquestioned.

execution of "James the brother of Jesus who is called Christ," no other allusion is found to the last-named evidently known Person. Nay, the sole provoking cause of that cruel murder, the testimony to Jesus as the Son of God and Judge of men, which was borne by that first bishop of Jerusalem, is, as well as his episcopate over the Christians there, entirely omitted³⁷. And, except James, no martyr or preacher of Christ is so much as alluded to or named in those two minute histories of the last periods of the Jewish state. The details of the new religion sprung from Judæa, which forced themselves on the attention of distant heathen magistrates and princes, and which must necessarily have been far more intimately known and apprehended by the Pharisee Josephus, all these are suppressed carefully and of set purpose by the professed historian of the Jews. I would not urge to the same effect the probable spuriousness of the single short paragraph of his extant writings, in which something is told of Jesus Christ; a passage against which there lies an argument more potent than any merely internal evidence, in its absence from the copies of Photius in the ninth century, and (almost as certainly) from the copies of the Christian writers before Eusebius, who have largely quoted him³⁸: since, if it were possible for Christian copyists to interpolate the passage, it were certainly possible also for Jewish scribes of the earlier time, through hatred of the Christian name, to omit it. Admitting then the utmost that this celebrated passage contains, the declaration that Jesus was the Christ after whom the sect of

³⁷ *Antiq. Jud.* xx. 9. § 1. On the question respecting this passage there is no need to enter here. Cf. Origen *adv. Cels.* Lib. i. p. 35. ed. Spenc.—Hegesipp. *ap.* Euseb. *Hist. Ecc.* ii. 23.

³⁸ This celebrated passage, *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 3, § 3, stands thus in Havercamp's edition, Tom. i. pp. 876, 7: its various readings being exhibited, before Daubuz's defence, in p. 191 seqq. of the supplement to the same edition. *Γίνεται δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἰησοῦς, σοφὸς ἀνὴρ, εἷγε ἀνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρῆ. ἦν γὰρ παραδόξων ἔργων ποιητής, διδάσκαλος ἀνθρώπων τῶν ἡδονῇ τάληθῇ δεχομένων. καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ ἐπηγάγετο. ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν. καὶ αὐτὸν ἐνδέξει τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν παρ' ἡμῖν, σταυρῷ ἐπιτετιμηκὸς Πιλάτου, οὐκ ἐπαύσαντο οἷγε πρῶτον αὐτὸν ἀγαπήσαντες. ἐφάνη γὰρ αὐτοῖς τρίτην ἔχων ἡμέραν πάλιν ζῶν, τῶν θείων προφητῶν ταῦτά τε καὶ ἄλλα μυρία θαυμάσια περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰρηκότων. εἰς ἔτι νῦν τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἀπὸ τοῦδε ὠρομασμένων οὐκ ἐπέλιπε τὸ φύλον.* It is not necessary to enter into the *vetatissima questio* concerning the genuineness of this passage. A late writer, F. H. Schoedel, under the title of *Flavius Josephus de Jesu Christo testatus*, Lipsiæ, 1840, has maintained the affirmative side with much ability. He errs, however (p. 3), in enumerating Lardner among the friends of the passage, of which he is a decided adversary: and seems to me to fail in giving a probable account of Clement and Origen's evident ignorance of this testimony; to say nothing of some others, whose mere silence cannot, as theirs can, be demonstrated to involve ignorance.

Christians was called, "that subsists to this day," the avowal that he performed superhuman works, and preached "the truth" to Jews and Gentiles, nay, that after his crucifixion by Pilate, he appeared alive the third day to his disciples, and in this, as in other wonders, fulfilled the oracles of the ancient prophets of the nation,—even in this confession (which, glaringly inconsistent as it is with the character of an unbelieving Jew, is not expressed in the language of a Christian,) there *may* have been no more than a purpose not to omit altogether what one class of heathen readers might expect concerning the founder of the new and growing faith, nor yet to lose altogether to his nation and its ancient religion the credit which, in their eyes, might attach to that Founder's character and wonderful works. And that this was in fact *all* that could be intended, appears from the rapidity with which the subject is passed over, and never resumed; though circumstances like these assuredly demanded most explicit notice both before and after the place where they are thus summarily despatched amidst the acts of Pilate's procuratorship. Neither is this inconsistent proceeding unsuitable to the character of Josephus's mind, however different from the temper of most of his countrymen; who would rather, if they mentioned the matter at all, have justified the act of the rulers that condemned Jesus³⁹. A more equally poised indifference becomes one who habitually consults the taste of heathens in his writings, and, while leaning to the stronger side on all occasions, ever avoids such a semblance of religious partisanship on Jewish questions as would be contemptible in the eyes of his courtly readers: who, though a professed Pharisee, and self-complacent in the assumption of that title, yet sneers at his co-sectaries when carrying out against the secular power then dominant their principle of hope in the coming King: and himself scruples not to apply the prophetic characters of Messiahship to a Roman emperor⁴⁰. The distaste which the spiritual

³⁹ Those who, like Bp. Warburton (*Div. Leg.* Book II. sect. 6), decide the question by saying that none could write thus without being a Christian, keep out of sight what that profession then required and involved. If men can be now inconsistent, surely they might be then faithless, even to this degree, to their expressed convictions. Again, a baptized Christian would hardly speak of his Lord's works of power as *παράδοξον ἔργον*, or use the expression *εἶνε* as it is there used: neither, when saying that Jesus was the Christ, could he have well refrained from confessing Him also as the Son of God.

⁴⁰ See the place *de Bell. Jud.* Lib. VI. c. 5, § 4, where the oracles concerning the Messiah which led the Jews to their revolts are expressly stated to have been

claims of Jesus Christ would excite in a person of this temperament would show itself in saying as little as he might on the subject, and especially avoiding such incidents as directed faith and allegiance to the obscure babe of Bethlehem. Here surely we have a sufficiently probable account of the non-mention by Josephus of the Magi's visit to Jerusalem, and the provincial infanticide that was its consequence, without having recourse to any method of extenuating beyond what is reasonable or probable the extent of that massacre. Whether occurring, as I think most probable, immediately before Herod's last sickness and the pulling down of the eagle, or, as many have thought, two years before, between the condemnation of his two innocent sons and the affair of the six thousand recusant Pharisees, these events would, in either case, be readily absorbed by the topics of stirring political interest that were then crowding upon the historian for recital, and were far more consonant both to his own taste and that of his readers⁴¹.

But is the silence, thus actually maintained by the Jewish historian on this matter, imputed with equal truth to all others out of the pale of Christianity? Is it, in other words, only in the first Gospel and in the early ecclesiastical writers, or in others who like Chalcidius, the Platonic friend of Christians, or Celsus⁴² their Epicurean adversary, repeat it as told *by them*,

fulfilled in Vespasian their conqueror: on which Eusebius remarks, *H. E. Lib. iii. c. 8*. See also the passage quoted at length in note 29, *sup.* concerning the 6000 recusant Pharisees; to which may be added his especial care, when stating *favourably* the doctrine of his own Pharisaic sect, to distinguish from it what is really its legitimate offshoot, the tenet of Judas of Galilee against the lawfulness of tribute to Gentile powers. *Ant. Jud. xviii. 1, §§ 3, 6. Bell. Jud. ii. 8, §§ 1, 2.*

⁴¹ Some have calculated, that as Bethlehem did not contain above a thousand inhabitants, not more than ten or twelve children were included in the description (*i. e.* those of two years old and under), to which this barbarous order was restricted. See Kuinoel in *Matt. ii. 16*. But estimating these at four or five times that number, "in Bethlehem and in all the coasts thereof," the observation of G. J. Vossius is certainly well founded: "Post tot crudelitatis exempla ab Herode Hierosolymis et in tota passim Judæa edita, post sublato diversis suppliciis tot filios, tot uxores, proximos, et amicos, non magna res fuisse videtur sustulisse quoque unius oppidi aut vici et adhaerentis territorii infantes, quorum strages in loco perexiguo non magna esse potuit; cum non omnes, sed mares tantum, et qui intra bimum essent, fuerunt cæsi."

⁴² The words of Celsus, containing a double misrepresentation, are thus reported in Origen's first book against him: "Instead of the Magi in the Gospel, the Jew in Celsus says, that certain *Chaldeans* were chosen by Jesus, having been moved to approach him at his nativity to adore him while yet a babe as a God, and that they announced this to Herod *the tetrarch*; and that he by means of emissaries slew those who were born at the same time, thinking to destroy Jesus also with them, lest having reached maturity he might reign." This is of course only an incorrect reflexion of the Gospel story. The original, with Origen's remarks,

that we hear at all either of the Magi's visit, or its result, the infanticide? They who maintain this, do so in the face of the following passage from a heathen writer of considerable eminence, a most diligent and learned collector of the curiosities of ancient literature⁴³. "When Augustus had heard that among the children in Syria whom Herod king of the Jews had ordered to be slain within the age of two years, his own son also had been killed, he said, *It is better to be Herod's hog than his son.*" To evade this testimony it has been often said, that the occasion of this *bon mot* of the Emperor must have been mistaken by its reporter; that it was much more likely to have been suggested by the execution of Alexander and Aristobulus by their father's order, or that of Antipater two years after, than by such an occasion as this; it being moreover inconsistent with known fact, as well as with probability, that Herod had any infant son that could have perished in an indiscriminate massacre of this kind. But supposing it to be even so, how are we rid by this means of the Roman writer's testimony to the infanticide itself, as Collins and Strauss⁴⁴ would bid us conclude? If this author represents as a known matter of fact that a slaughter of certain children under two years old in Syria (*i.e.* in Syria Palestine, as the ancients termed it,) was ordered by Herod king of the Jews, his alleging it out

will be given, as well as the highly-contrasted passage of Chalcidius (who also terms the Magi *Chaldeans*), in note 64.

⁴³ Aur. Theodosii Macrobiani *Saturnaliorum*, Lib. II. cap. 4: "Cum audisset (Augustus) inter pueros, quos in Syria Herodes rex Judæorum intra bimatum jussit interfici, filium quoque ejus occisum, ait: *Melius est Herodis porcum esse quam filium.*" Gronovius, in his note on this place, remarks, that this seems an imitation of an old saying of Diogenes the Cynic against the Megarians (*Ælian. Var. Hist.* XII. 56) as caring more for the breeding of their rams than of their children: ἐβούλετο Μεγαρέως ἀνδρὸς κριὸς εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ υἱός: but in a Roman mouth it would have much more point when applied to a Jew's abstinence from swine's flesh. The alliteration of *ὑν* and *υἱόν* should seem to indicate that this sarcasm, though not so related by Macrobius, was uttered in *Greek* by the Emperor: that alliteration, which singularly enough runs through the languages of the Indo-European stock, being less expressible in Latin than in almost any other. It could not there be more nearly expressed than by *suum* and *satum*: though expressible in Sanscrit by *sūkaram* and *sutam* or *sānum*, as in our uninflected Teutonic speech by their respective correlatives *swine* and *son*.

⁴⁴ "Den herodischen Kindermord berührt nur der einzige Macrobius aus dem vierten Jahrhundert; doch auch er in einer Stelle, welche *dadurch alles Gewicht verliert*, dass in ihr die aus Josephus bekannte Hinrichtung des Antipater, der so wenig mehr ein Kind war, dass er bereits über Grauerwerden klagte, mit dem von christlicher Seite berühmten Kindermorde vermischt ist." Strauss, I. 291. The latter half of this passage is groundless assumption: as the former part (*viz.* that the allegation of a fact loses *all* its weight through an incidental mistake of its reporter) is false inference.

of place, and in a wrong connexion, will not prove the alleged fact a mistake: nor will even the addition of an inaccurate circumstance to that allegation suffice to throw discredit on the main story. Would it not rather speak for its general notoriety as true history, that it should be thus brought forward by a well-informed person (whether Macrobius himself or its earlier reporter) as what he thought must be the suggesting occasion of this pungent remark of the Emperor, the real occasion of that remark being less known to him? Undoubtedly there is but one way to annul the *independent* force of this heathen testimony to the fact: and that is by maintaining, with some critics, that it was from *Christian* reports alone of the massacre at Bethlehem that Macrobius obtained this idea of the origin of Augustus's jest, the jest itself being learnt of course from purely Roman sources. But even on this most unfavourable (and, I will add, most improbable) supposition, the testimony is not wholly lost to us. It would still remain true, that the singular barbarity recorded by St Matthew was accepted, without question, as historic fact, not only by believers in the Gospel, but by thorough heathens, and learned investigators too, as was this author.

But there is no solid rational ground for conceding the truth of any of the suppositions that I have thus hypothetically allowed. If we give the least careful perusal to this author, (who, though a man of official dignity under Christian emperors⁴⁵, belonged to the party of the old religion of Rome, that numbered his friend Symmachus and many others of the highest rank and ability among its zealous votaries,) if we consult either the Saturnalian convivial discourses from which that anecdote is taken, or his large Commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* of Cicero, in both which subjects of religion as well as literature are started perpetually, we shall see how thoroughly ethnical was the whole contexture of his mind; how remote are his most cherished prepossessions, on matters either of fact or theory, from the least tinge derived from converse with Christian people; how while the *religiosi* of the several idolatrous worships, especially of the powers of nature, are to him objects of peculiar interest, the new dogmatic creed and its adherents are

⁴⁵ He was grand chamberlain (*præpositus cubiculi*) under Honorius and Theodosius II.

never in the most distant manner alluded to; and, consequently, how singular and unprecedented would be his taking up an idea purely on the authority of these last. Again, we have but to inspect the disjointed specimens of Augustus's wit in the midst of which this anecdote occurs, to see how improbable is the supposition which would dis sever the jests from their recorded occasions, and represent Macrobius as deriving the former from the earlier Roman report, while he either supplied or altered the latter from independent (or even *Christian*) hearsay⁴⁶. I contend, therefore, that the occasion of this jest was no other than what it purports; viz. the news brought to Cæsar of a slaughter ordered by Herod of all children under two years of age in a certain locality; and a vague report of course accompanying this of one announced in Jerusalem as new-born King of the Jews being the victim aimed at in this promiscuous infanticide. What more likely than that this should be confusedly apprehended by the first Roman hearers, as though a new-born prince of the only royal family they knew in Judæa had been slain among those children? For the person of the mysterious King, and His flight to Egypt, were profound secrets both from Jew and Gentile; nor could *Herod's* destruction even of a son, if a rival, be esteemed incredible by any after the fate of his two sons by Mariamne, beside those in his household who were soon after put to death for merely believing the Pharisees' prediction of a coming Sovereign⁴⁷.

⁴⁶ Take for instance the three preceding this.

"To Galba, who was hunch-backed, and who, while pleading his cause before Augustus, frequently repeated, *Correct me where you find me wrong*, he answered; *Admonish you I may, correct you (corrigere, or make you straight) I cannot.*

"When many accused by Severus Cassius were acquitted (*absolverentur*), and the architect of the Imperial forum was long protracting the expectation of his work (*operis absolvendi* sc.) he jocularly exclaimed, *Would that Cassius would accuse my forum too!*

"When Vettius had ploughed up the ground that covered his father's monument, Augustus remarked to him; *This is indeed cultivating the memory of your father.*

"When he heard that among the children in Syria, within two years of age, whom Herod king of the Jews had ordered to be slain, his own son also had been killed, he said; *Better is it to be Herod's hog than his son.*"

⁴⁷ See the passage quoted in note 29, respecting the execution of Bagoas and Carus, and many others of his family. The insecurity in which even his own

* "Galbæ, cuius informe gibbo erat corpus, agenti apud se causam et frequenter dicenti, *Corrige in me siquid reprehendis*, respondit: *Ego te monere possum, corrigere non possum.*

"Cum multi Severo Cassio accusante absolverentur, et architectus fori Augusti expectationem operis diu traheret, ita jocatus est: *Vellem Cassius et meum forum accuset.*

"Vettius cum monumentum patris exarasset, ait Augustus: *Hoc est vere monumentum (Erasm. memoriam) patris colere.*

"Cum audisset inter pueros &c." See note 43 *sup.* *A. T. Macrobiî Opp.* p. 232, ed. Lond. 1694.

Now whether Augustus thus heard the report, and (possibly without believing the whole of it, yet) made it the basis of his caustic remark on Herod's unnatural cruelty, or whether it was that the intelligence at Rome of the infant-massacre was contemporaneous with that of the adult son Antipater's execution suddenly ordered by his father, the third of his offspring who had been sacrificed to his fear of dethronement, we have on either of these suppositions, if not on both united, a most adequate ground of the imperial pleasantry; while the common Roman contempt of the Jews' abstinence from swine's flesh supplied its material⁴⁸. And this account of the jest, while it leaves no substantial error, but only such inaccuracies as might be expected, in the statement of those Romans by whom its memory was preserved from the time of Augustus to that of Honorius, may challenge comparison no less in respect of internal probability with that which some modern critics' sagacity has invented to supersede it.

It is, as I would maintain, most improbable that the *immediate* occasion of this satirical remark should have been the account received by Cæsar of the judicial death of the unfortunate brothers *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*. It is true that the Emperor was personally interested in those sons of Herod and Mariamne, having honourably entertained them at Rome for two years in the house of Pollio and in his own palace, when commended to him by their father, A.U.C. 733, as the intended

children felt themselves from his ever-watchful barbarous suspicion cannot be more strongly portrayed than in the confessions elicited by torture in the investigation that followed. (See Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xvii. 4. § 1; and still more, the parallel place in his other work, *de Bell. Jud.* i. 30, § 3.) If those are right who, as I there remarked, connect this Pharisaic prediction with the Magi's inquiry as its provoking cause, this will exclude the possibility of Antipater's death, which was later by a year and a half at least than that prediction, being at all concerned in Augustus's jest on the infanticide. Cf. pp. 286, 292, *sup*.

⁴⁸ The strange idea of imputing to the Jews a peculiar kindness to these abhorred animals as the motive for not eating them was common among the Romans. So Juvenal, *Sat.* vi. v. 158:

dedit hunc Agrippa sorori,
Observant ubi festa mero pede Sabbata reges,
Et vetus indulget senibus CLEMENTIA porcis.

Again, *Sat.* xiv. v. 96:

Quidam sortiti metuentem Sabbata patrem,
Nil præter nubes et cæli Numen adorant;
Nec distare putant humana carne suillam,
Qua pater abstinuit: mox et præputia ponunt:
Romanas autem soliti contemnere leges,
Judaicum ediscunt, et servant, ac metuunt jus,
Tradidit arcano quodcunque volumine Moses.

heirs of his kingdom⁴⁹: and that when, seven years after their return to Palestine, they were brought again by that same father to Rome in the new character of criminals, accused of designs against his kingdom and his life, Augustus admitted their ingenuous defence, and not only absolved them himself, but moved even Herod to a sincere and joyful reconciliation⁵⁰. It is true also, that when, after five years of alternating feeling, the same accusations, renewed with greater plausibility through a villainous Greek suborned by Antipater, were referred by letter to Cæsar, he made this domestic inquietude of Herod a reason for withholding from him the most substantial mark of his restored favour⁵¹, and was careful to procure for the accused princes a fairer trial than their father's impotent frenzy would have afforded, before the Roman presidents of Syria, assisted by others of illustrious and independent station⁵². But with such diabolical contrivance were the circumstances of suspicion against the young men arranged by their enemies in Herod's household, that none of these independent judges pronounced them guiltless. Though the Proconsul Sentius Saturninus and his sons were averse to the capital punishment, it was on the ground of paternal mercy, not of justice: while the Procurator Volumnius, and the majority of the assessors, voted the death of the two princes as parricides; and they were accordingly strangled by their father's order at Sebaste. I conclude therefore that Augustus could not have founded his bitter pleasantry on an execution which he had himself authorized; and which, however he might lament its necessity, he doubtless *at the time* thought merited. The remark on the misfortune of being

⁴⁹ Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* xv. 10. § 1—xvi. 1, § 2.

⁵⁰ *Ant. Jud.* xvi. 4.

⁵¹ *Ant. Jud.* xvi. cc. 9, 10. The accusation of an interested Arabian (the unsuccessful suitor to Herod's sister Salome), that his country had been wantonly invaded and ravaged from Judæa, had so incensed Augustus that he told Herod by letter he should no longer treat him as a friend, as of old, but as a subject: (ὅτι πάλαι χρώμενος αὐτῷ φίλῳ, νῦν ὑπηκόῳ χρήσεται, c. 9, § 3). But being afterwards convinced that the accusation was false, through the intercession of Nicolaus of Damascus, he would have conferred on Herod the kingdom of Arabia, but for receiving from him at this moment the letters criminatory of his sons: on which he resolved that such a further elevation was not expedient, and therefore confirmed the new Arab prince Aretas, or Hárith. τὸ μὲν ἀρχὴν ἀλλήν προστιθέναι γέροντι, καὶ κακῶς πράττοντι τὰ περὶ τοὺς παῖδας, οὐκ ᾤσθη καλῶς ἔχειν. c. 10, § 9.

⁵² This investigation of the charges was moreover ordered to be holden at Beirút, beyond the limits of Herod's kingdom, and the reach of his influence. Its process and tragical termination are told by Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xvi. 11. *Bell. Jud.* i. 27.

Herod's son would be far more probably connected with these princes' fate, after the revelations of two eventful years had drawn from all, even the repentant father himself, the confession that they were the victims of treachery. Was then the death of *Antipater* a fit suggesting occasion for such a remark? Taken by itself, this might rather seem an expiation of the brothers' murder than a repetition of its guilt; beside that here also there had been a judicial examination of his case by *Quintilius Varus*, the Syrian pro-consul after *Saturninus*, whose sentence had been ratified by the Emperor. But the remark might be well called forth by hearing that Herod had ordered several infants to be murdered, because a King of the Jews of their age had been enquired after by some foreign astronomers in his capital; considering that the terrors of deposition, with which he had of late so often troubled *Cæsar*, were ever excited by his own children; and the apparent certainty, that, if a child of his own were a suspected object of the Magi's enquiry, to be declared King during his own life, no paternal tenderness would save him from perishing with the rest⁵³. Such, according to *Macrobius*, was the actual rumour that prompted the sarcasm: nor would this be disarmed of its sting by the intelligence that Herod had soon after put to death his once favoured first-born, (whom Augustus had merely left to his discretion, to punish capitally, or to spare,) and that he had himself died amidst projects of more extensive slaughter.

Thus, then, we find *St Matthew's* narrative confirmed in the least apparently credible of its incidents that are not supernatural, the infant-massacre,—*first* by its singularly exact accordance with the character of the tyrant Herod, as unquestioned history has portrayed it, and *secondly*, by the unexpected incidental attestation of the fact itself, even in one of its minute circumstances, (the “two years old and under”,) by an independent tradition of the heathen Roman court. Let us now then attend to that circumstance of antecedent improbability, which, according to *Strauss*, must overthrow the whole as matter of history; viz. the nullity of the science by which, as it is said, the nativity and its period of two years was determined from the wise men's report. Such determinations, however agreeable to the character of Eastern Magi, ‘have long

⁵³ *Antiq. Jud.* xvii. 5, §§ 2—7.

since passed from the province of science to that of superstition.' How then can we receive as true history, much less as supernatural revelation, a narrative which thus attaches to these falsehoods a divine sanction⁵⁴?

Doubtless the judicial astrology which attributes to the celestial bodies a direct influence on human counsels and events, does belong, has ever belonged, to the domain of mere superstition. Whether attributing to the several stars, with the sages of heathenism, a lucky or a sinister influence which magic rites might draw forth or direct or avert⁵⁵,—or whether, by a more absolute fatality, assigning to every one born under a certain place and configuration of the planets a definite character and destiny as the necessary result, which skill in the heavenly motions might accordingly deduce and ascertain,—such science is not more proscribed by philosophy as baseless and absurd, than it has been ever condemned by religion as false and impious. But as there has scarcely ever been any dominant falsehood in the world which is not the corruption or distorted semblance of some truth, such may be in some measure the case even with the pretended science of astrology. And it may be therefore not useless to offer some illustration of this, both as it respects the physical agencies ascribed of old to the supra-terrene bodies, and the significations attached to their several movements, before we attempt either to excuse

⁵⁴ Strauss, I. 281.....“es ja nach dieser Erzählung scheint, als hätte die Astrologie Recht mit der Behauptung, dass die Geburt grosser Männer und bedeutende Veränderungen der menschlichen Verhältnisse durch siderische Erscheinungen angezeigt werden: eine Meinung, welche längst in das Gebiet des Aberglaubens verwiesen ist. Man müsste also zu erklären suchen, wie jene trügerische Kunst in diesem einzelnen Falle Recht haben konnte; ohne dass jedoch auf andere Fälle daraus geschlossen werden dürfte.”

⁵⁵ Take, for example, the following instance of Gentile superstition, as existing among the ablest men of the later Platonists who were opposed to Christianity, from Porphyry's *Life of Plotinus*: Τῶν δὲ φιλοσοφῶν προσποιουμένων Ὀλύμπιος Ἀλεξανδρεὺς, Ἀμμωνίου ἐπ' ὀλίγον μαθητῆς γενόμενος, καταφρονητικῶς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔσχε διὰ φιλοπρωτίαν· ὃς καὶ οὕτως αὐτῷ ἐπέθετο, ὥστε καὶ ἀστροβολῆσαι αὐτὸν μαγεύσας ἐπεχείρησεν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἰς αὐτὸν στρεφομένην ἦσθετο τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, ἔλεγε πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις μεγάλην εἶναι τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ Πλωτίνου δύναμιν, ὡς ἀποκρούειν δύνασθαι τὰς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιφορὰς εἰς τοὺς κακοῦν αὐτὸν ἐπιχειροῦντας. Πλωτίνος μέντοι, τοῦ Ὀλύμπιου ἐγχειροῦντος ἀντελαμβάνετο, λέγων αὐτῷ τὸ σῶμα τότε ὡς τὰ σύσπαστα βαλάντια ἔλκεσθαι, τῶν μέλων αὐτῷ πρὸς ἄλλα συσθλιβομένων. Κινδυνεύσας δὲ ὁ Ὀλύμπιος πολλάκις αὐτὸς τι παθεῖν ἢ ὀρᾶσαι τὸν Πλωτίνον ἐπαύσατο. (See Plotin. *Opera*, Tom. I. p. lxi. ed. F. Creuzer, Oxon. 1835). The subject of this strange story is one whom eminent Christians of our own day have held in (not undeserved) admiration. Witness the correspondence of Jebb and Knox: after Dr H. More and others.

or to deny the asserted exemplification of these things in our present narrative.

That there is a physical influence of the heavenly bodies on the earth we inhabit, we are assured by that doctrine which constitutes the greatest triumph of modern science, the doctrine of universal gravitation: whence also we learn that such influence is not only efficacious on the orbital motions of the whole terraqueous globe, which it absolutely determines, but affects also the mutual relations of its component parts. Wherever there is sufficient magnitude, and sufficient nearness, of the celestial body, to make (not its attraction itself, but) the inequality of its attraction to different parts of our globe a matter of sensible appreciation, there are terrestrial things really affected by its influence. And of any *two* bodies thus capable of affecting our planet, since the influence is combined when they are in conjunction and in opposition, but mutually counteractive when they are in quadratures, the ascertainment of their relative positions in the heavens is a matter of consequence as it respects the earth. The connexion of the lunar phases with the phenomena of the tides is thus known to us, not barely as a matter of constant empirical observation, but (through the wonderful progress of this science of celestial mechanism) of mathematical deduction and calculus. And in matters which science has not so reached as to supply us with the law and measure of operation, yet where sufficient experiment reveals an ever-subsisting coincidence of the celestial phase and the earthly appearance, a physical efficiency of some kind is there no less justly inferred: for example, in the observed connexion between the soli-lunar periods and some atmospheric phenomena, or with some varying affections of the human frame, the periods of fevers, &c. How far this may extend, it is for those most conversant in such enquiries to judge: the rules of judgment they apply to such questions ever affording the most complete contrast and effectual refutation to the criteria of the pretended science we are now discussing. The influence of the more remote heavenly bodies, except for the mere transmission of light, is thus set aside altogether from rational speculation: while, with respect to those bodies of which further influence of some sort or degree may be probably suspected, it were most

absurd either to extend this beyond the range of properly physical operation, or to restrict it to the instant of nativity. The absurdity is monstrous of pretending to subject to such planetary influence the infinite variety of causes, physical and moral, by which the future development and progressive character of the individual is determined: but to decide that these are necessarily the same, or at least corresponding in nature, to all the numberless individuals who are born at the same moment of time, is an equal outrage on probability, on experience, and on religion.




So much concerning the difference between the true doctrine of the physical efficiency of heavenly bodies and its counterfeit; by which the ancient astronomers of Chaldæa and other regions were wont to corrupt and adulterate what they experimentally knew or suspected of the former⁵⁶. But physical efficiency is not that with which we are properly concerned here. As the operations and communications of intelligent agents are not chained by the physical laws that regulate the course of inanimate matter, so neither are those of Him who disposes all. And as the sensible things around and above us are so constituted by Him as to represent to the intellectual nature things invisible and spiritual,—the words which denote the former being the very instruments for shaping forth and apprehending the latter,—there may be a congruity in the deep reason of things in the attachment to certain great movements in the moral world of corresponding portentous appearances in the natural; in the appointment of either distinct meteoric phenomena, or certain appearances of the existent celestial bodies, as their light is transmitted through our atmosphere, to signify the greater crises of human affairs, and especially the phases of that Light from above which has imparted a new character and course to them all. There is no science which can prove such

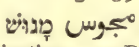
⁵⁶ See the concluding paragraph of La Place's *Exposition du Système du Monde*, where he describes as the principal benefit of astronomical discovery, above even its contributions to agriculture, navigation, and geography, its emancipation of mankind from the dread of celestial phenomena, by informing us of our true relations with nature. Whether that inestimable benefit has not been rather obtained by that which he there studiously keeps out of sight, the revelation of our recovered filial relations with the *Author* of nature, through his Son, is a question which the last quotation may help to decide: when we contrast the blind superstition of those able students of nature and her powers with the hostility which, even in the least scientific ages, the Church has ever manifested to magic and astrology.

significations (so often indicated in the Scriptures⁵⁷) either impossible or unworthy the Divinity; or which can convict of superstition either the expectation of them on grave occasions, or the reverent observation of them when past. What really deserves that name and character is either the unseasonable expectation or apprehension of these signs, or such a license of prognostication from existing phænomena as no divine testimony has warranted; such as nothing but the exploded notion of physical efficiency could represent as attainable to the creature without express revelation; such therefore as the attempt to attain by study or otherwise cannot but be both vain and impious, partaking of the character which religion has ever attached to the pretensions of sorcery and magic.

How far then is the character of real superstition traceable in the Evangelical narrative here? Certain *MAGI*,—not of such as were commonly known by that term among the Greeks, professors of the arts called magical, and whose Oriental designation was very different,—but of those whose distinctive proper appellation before the days of Hystaspes and Zoroaster was that of *Magh* or *Magús*⁵⁸, viz. of the sacerdotal caste of the Medes

⁵⁷ Ezek. xxxii. 2, 7, 8. Joel ii. 30, 31. Amos viii. 9. Matt. xxiv. 29, 30, &c. &c.

⁵⁸ Their proper Persic name  is found in the book of Daniel, under the form , applied to the order or caste of Magi, existing, as has been already remarked*, even then in Babylon (the Hebrew noun for *magicians*, whether in Egypt or Chaldæa being very different, viz. ). In later Hebrew writings,

as in Arabic, the name is dissyllabic, viz. : in which we must not take the added syllable for the Greek termination *os*, as Dr Hyde thought; for the *σ* is proved to be radical in the name by its Greek representative *Μαγισαῖος*, which we find, not only in late semi-barbarous writers (e.g. Anonym. præfixus Jo. Malakæ *Chronographiæ*, p. 18. ed. Oxon. 1691), but in Epiphanius: Παρὰ Πέρσαις Μαγισαῖοι καλούμενοι, οἱ εἰδῶλα μὲν βδελυττόμενοι, εἰδῶλοις δὲ προσκυνοῦντες Πυρὶ καὶ Σελήνῃ καὶ Ἑλλήνι. *Adv. Hæc.* Lib. iii. p. 1094. ed. Petav.

Lightfoot, who is more distinguished for Rabbinical learning than correct judgment, is one instance of a Christian commentator seeking to give the worst acceptance to this highly favoured name in the first Gospel. He says, *in loc.* “Magi, i. e. Venefici vel malis artibus dediti: nam in hoc solum sensu occurrit hæc vox in pagina sacra.” But though in other places of the N. T., as the context and circumstances indicate, the word *μάγοι* is used in its depraved Greek acceptance, to denote those who were addicted to “curious arts,” to incantations or necromancy, is there nothing in the present passage, in its honorific mention of these *Μάγοι*, and their journey from the East, to indicate the original and proper *appellative* signification of the name, in which the Greek masters of foreign history Herodotus and Diodorus use it, viz. the sacerdotal caste of the Persians? What

and Persians, and who, at the period now in question, were dispersed in various parts of the East,—are represented as favoured with the explicit knowledge of the birth in Judæa of the destined heir of David, and with a star-like apparition as His appointed sign. We are not told whether the information was special to those persons, or shared by others of the same tribe and profession; among whom, as throughout the Eastern world, heathen writers being our witnesses, there existed at this time a *constant* and *long-established* opinion, that a new supreme dynasty was shortly to proceed from Judæa⁵⁹. We hear not whether the prediction to that effect of the old Gentile prophet of Mesopotamia⁶⁰, or any more indigenous Persian prophecy⁶¹,

do we read of sorcery or enchantment in their proceedings? It is true that Origen, in a passage to be quoted hereafter, in speaking to Greeks, intimates the possibility of the *δαίμονες* with whom the Magi had converse having revealed to them the divine power by which their own was quelled; and that several other ancients have the same sentiment: but he also indicates higher and better sources of their light, as do Chrysostom and Cyprian, and most other Fathers.

⁵⁹ Suetonius in *Vespasian*. § 4: “Percrebuerat Oriente toto *vetus* et *constans* opinio, esse in fatis, ut eo tempore Judæa profecti rerum potirentur.” The historian proceeds to say (as Tacitus and the faithless Josephus do also in the same connexion), that these predictions (which in their account are *Jewish* prophecies only, but which Suetonius extends to the *Gentile* nations of the East), were truly accomplished in Vespasian. (*Tac. Hist.* v. 13. *Joseph. Bell. Jud.* v. 5; vii. 31.) This is like Virgil in his 4th *Eclogue* applying to Pollio the magnificent predictions of the Cumæan Sibyl.

⁶⁰ Num. xxiv. 17—19. Christ was Himself the Star whose future rising is here announced by the unwilling prophet as bringing destruction to the powers of heathenism to which he was then selling himself. But this will not make it a perversion of the prophecy, to conceive a star of some kind as His harbinger and sign; as Spanheim too drily and technically argues here against the general consent of the ancient Church, which connects that prophecy of Balaam with the Magi's Star. (*Dub. Evang.* II. p. 369.) Rather such a description of the coming Light of the World suggests this as the proper sign of His appearing. See Origen, as cited *inf.* note 64.

⁶¹ Some refer to the Messiah, as we may see in Hyde, *de Religione vet. Perss.* p. 382, seq., the predictions of Zoroaster concerning his three posthumous sons, Osheider-bamî, Osheidernmah, and Sosiosh, who from seeds deposited in the waters should spring up successively in the last three ages of the world, to arrest the sun in his course, to establish the law of righteousness, and destroy the works of the evil principle, after which the last of them should quicken the dead and judge the world. This will be best judged by consulting on that matter the actual books of Zoroaster, the *Vendidad Sade* and the *Boundehesh*, in Anquetil du Perron's translation. *Zend-Avesta*, Tome I. Part ii. pp. (45, 46) 413; Tome II. pp. 278, 364, 411, 420.

We might point also to the prophecies of *Hystaspes* concerning the future judgment and the destruction of the world by fire, as they are appealed to by Clemens Alex. *Strom.* Lib. vi., Justin Martyr, *Apolog.* i. cc. 27, 59, and Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* Lib. vii. cc. 15, 18. Passages resembling those quoted by these

* This Hystaspes is truly called by Ammianus Marcellinus, Lib. xxiii., “Hystaspes prudentissimus Darii pater,” and the founder of the discipline of the Magi, which he learnt from the Indian Brachmans; and so by Agathias, *Hist.* Lib. ii., on the report of the *Πέρσαι οἱ νῦν* (whose testimony, identical with that of *our* present Parsees, is by him stated more ambiguously). But Lactantius refers Hystaspes, erroneously, to an older date long preceding the foundation of Rome.

had led these Magi to expect a birth thus signified; or whether it was a concurrent revelation to themselves that enabled them so to interpret the sign when it appeared. All these suppositions are quite compatible with the spirit of this equally concise and unadorned narrative; and the last in particular accords with the divine instructions they are described as receiving subsequently. On the faith, however, of the sign thus manifested in their own country, they take their journey with presents and offerings to Jerusalem, the known metropolis of the land of the expected Sovereign: and there they have to learn by ordinary means, from the Jews themselves, where the new-born Prince is to be found: nor is it till they have ascertained, through Herod, that the prophecies of the sacred nation determined Bethlehem, the birth-place of David, to be that also of his Anointed Successor, nor till they have set their faces to go thither, that they are represented as favoured once more with the celestial sign they had seen in their own land⁶². Meanwhile, the particular information they had given to Herod was merely as to the time when the star had there appeared to them, not to any determinations or calculations of their own respecting it.

Fathers exist in the Persian book *احكام جاماسب* or *Judgments of Jámásp*, which is included in the *Raváyets*, or sacred collections of the present Guebres or Fire-worshippers: the oracles of which are said to have been delivered by a prophet named Jamasp to Hystaspes (Vistasp or Kishtasp), who, according to them, reigned over Persia the third after Cai Khosru, or Cyrus the Great.

Among the *Desátir*, or ancient Persian prophecies, edited by the learned Parsee Mulla Firoz in Bombay, there is one purporting to be of Shet Sasan the first, the son of Dáráb or Darius Codomanus; in which, from a cave in India whither he had fled from Alexander, he announces four religions different from his own which should appear in the world hereafter. These are expounded by an ancient commentator (proved to be such by the very pure ancient Persic in which he translates and explains his Indo-Magian original), to be respectively the Christian, the Manichæan, the Mazdekan, and the Mahometan, that finally subverted the old religion in Iran. Now while the last three, each described by some characteristic tokens, are accompanied with strong marks of detestation both in the text and the commentary, the first is favourably but more generally noticed in the text among things from which the true men of Persia "had nothing to dread:" and this the commentator expounds as the religion of the Greeks and Romans, founded by Him who among the Jews called himself *Pári Yezdán*, "the Son of God," and whose death by their hands preceded the promulgation of his faith. *Desátir*, pp. 187—195.

⁶² Many ancients have represented the Star as preceding the Magi all the way from their country to Jerusalem, and then disappearing for a while, so as to make farther enquiry necessary at the place which was the centre of the divine oracles. But many others at least by silence support the view which Isidore and Card. Cajetan are represented by Spanheim (*Dub. Ev. Tom. II. p. 321*) as explicitly maintaining, viz. that the Star was not seen by them at all, after its first apparition in their own country, until it preceded them on the way from Jerusalem to the house in Bethlehem. And this certainly appears to be the meaning of the Evangelical narrative.

And the new circumstances we now hear concerning their celestial sign, as it proceeds before them southward to the temporary abode of the Lord Christ, are such as, literally interpreted, cannot be possibly understood of any star properly so called⁶³, but of a meteoric body moving in the region of the terrene atmosphere. And to these circumstances remarked by Origen as indicating that it was not one of the fixed stars of heaven, or the lower planetary bodies, but an extraordinary phænomenon that so guided them, we may add his most true remark that the Magi are totally distinct from the Chaldæans or professors of astrology, with whom his adversary Celsus had confounded them,

⁶³ It scarcely needs remark that a heavenly body can merely guide in respect of *direction*, i.e. the point of the compass in which it is situated: and that, whatever be the earthly object to which it may thus direct our course, its conjunction with that object, when approached, is exchanged for similar conjunction with objects more remote; being the same for every place in the line of march, and utterly incapable of indicating any one in particular. It is no less manifest that, Jerusalem and Bethlehem lying very nearly North and South, a star on the celestial meridian which should, at the beginning of the progress from the former place, be a guide of the strangers towards the latter, would soon cease to indicate that direction as in its diurnal course it became more and more west of that meridian, till at the close of the time which a journey of twelve miles would require, its bearing would be south-westerly instead of south. Consequently, no celestial body could even guide to the town; much less could a particular house in the town be possibly pointed out by it. For this the body must not be celestial, but meteoric.

Hence the truth of S. Augustine's observation *against Faustus*, Lib. II. c. 5 (who, like other Manichæans, made the Star a celestial one, the astrological determination of which fixed the fortunes of our Lord): "*Nos quidem sub fato stellarum nullius hominis genesin ponimus, ut liberum arbitrium voluntatis, quo vel bene vel male vivitur, propter justum judicium Dei ab omni necessitatis vinculo vindicemus: quanto minus illius temporalem generationem sub astrorum conditione credimus factum, qui est æternus universorum Creator et Dominus? Itaque illa stella quam viderunt Magi, Christo secundum carnem nato, non ad decretum dominabatur sed ad testimonium famulabatur; nec eum subiciebat imperio, sed indicabat sequo. Proinde non ex illis erat hæc stellis, quæ ab initio creaturæ itinerum suorum ordinem sub Creatoris lege custodiunt: sed novo Virginis partu novum sidus apparuit, quod ministerium officii sui etiam ipsis Magis quærentibus Christum, cum ante faciem præiret, exhibuit, donec eos usque ad ipsum locum ubi Dei Verbum infans erat præeundo perduceret.*" (S. Aug. *Opp.* Tom. VIII. p. 135, ed. Benedict.)

The same conclusion is argued by Chrysostom, *Hom. VI. in Matt.*, against those in his day who taxed S. Matthew here with countenancing astrology: *οτι ου τω πολλων εις ο αστηρ ουτος ην, μαλλον δε ουδε αστηρ, ως εμοιγε δοκει, αλλα δυναμις τις αόρατος εις ταυτην μετασχηματισθεισα την οψιν*: and he argues this, first, from its not moving from East to West like all heavenly bodies, but from North to South; 2ndly, from its appearing not by night, but in the day, arguing its exceeding brightness, which the solar radiance could not reduce to insignificance; 3rdly, from its disappearing (at Jerusalem, as he thinks), and then appearing again; 4thly, from its descent on the house (or as he says, on the stable), contrary to the manner of heavenly bodies. So also Theophylact and Euthymius Zigabenus in *loc.*, Isidore of Pelusium, Lib. I. epistt. 377, 378, Joan. Damascen. *Orthod. Fid.* Lib. II. c. 7, Petrus Chrysologus, *Serm.* 157, ad verba *Vidimus stellam ejus*, Thomas Aquinas in *Summa Theolog.* Part III. q. 36, art. 7.

asserting without foundation that these Wise Men communicated to Herod a calculation of his rival's nativity⁶⁴.

⁶⁴ Μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ παρὰ τῷ Κέλσῳ Ἰουδαῖος ἀντὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ μάγων “Χαλδαῖους φησὶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ λελέχθαι, κινηθέντας ἐπὶ τῇ γενέσει αὐτοῦ ἐληλυθέναι προσκυνήσοντας αὐτὸν ἐν νήπιον ὡς Θεόν· καὶ Ἡρώδῃ τῷ τετράρρχῃ τοῦτο δεδηλωκέναι· τὸν δὲ πέμψαντα, ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ γεγενημένους, οἰόμενον καὶ τοῦτον ἀνελεῖν σὺν αὐτοῖς, μή πως τὸν αὐτάρχη ἐπιβιώσας χρόνον βασιλεύσῃ.” Ὅρα οὖν ἐν τούτῳ τὸ παράκρουσμα τοῦ μὴ διακρίνοντος μάγους Χαλδαίων, μηδὲ τὰς ἐπαγγελίας διαφόρους οὕσας αὐτῶν θεωρήσαντος, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καταψευσαμένου τῆς εὐαγγελικῆς γραφῆς. οὐκ οἶδα δ’ ὅπως καὶ τὸ κωήσαν τοὺς μάγους σσειώπηκε, καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν αὐτὸ εἶναι ἀστέρα ὀφθέντα ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον. Ἴδωμεν οὖν καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα τί λεκτέον. τὸν ὀφθέντα ἀστέρα ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ καὶ οὐκ εἶναι νομίζομεν, καὶ μηδὲν τῶν συνήθων παραπλήσιον, οὔτε τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀπλανεί, οὔτε τῶν ἐν ταῖς κατωτέρω σφαῖραις· ἀλλὰ τῷ γένει τοιοῦτον γεγενῆσθαι, ὅποιοι κατὰ καιρὸν γινόμενοι κομῆται, ἢ δοκίδες, ἢ πωγωνίαι, ἢ πῆθοι, ἢ ὅπως ποτὲ φίλον Ἑλλησιν ὀνομάζω τὰς διαφορὰς αὐτῶν. κατασκενάζομεν δὲ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον τὸ τοιοῦτο. (*Contra Celsum*, Lib. I. p. 45, ed. Spencer.) This passage of Origen agrees with those of Chrysostom and Augustine in the preceding note, except in thus erroneously characterizing the Star at the end; its motions being as irreconcilable with those of a comet as of a planet. This speculation he follows up by quoting Chæremone the Stoic for prognostications of revolutions by comets or bearded stars. But he adds, that to none of these was a prophecy annexed, like that of Balaam to the Star which the Magi followed; and then (without knowing precisely the kind of kingdom that was to proceed from this humble dwelling) produced their divinely directed symbolic presents, ὡς Βασιλεῖ τὸν χρυσόν, ὡς δὲ τεθνήξομένῳ τὴν σμόρναν, ὡς δὲ Θεῷ τὸν λίβανωτόν. But Origen entirely concurs in the denial of any calculation of our Lord's nativity to this communication of the Magi. In St Augustine's judgment, as we have seen, it is contrary to the Christian religion, and its inseparable doctrine—the *liberum arbitrium* (which he asserted no less than the Church before him),—that any one should be subjected to a fatal necessity arising from the stars at his nativity: but much more impious to assert this of the Incarnate Son of God.

This Manichaean impiety has been, however, imputed in later times to the eccentric mathematician Jerome Cardan, of having constructed a “D. N. J. C. geneleos thema.” (*View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy*, I. 65.) But amidst the hundred and twelve nativities of all sorts of persons, from Cicero to Albert Dürer, which are calculated at length, and their schemes exhibited, in Vol. v. of his strange works, I do not find this crowning impiety.

Somewhat different from this, but still varying from the sentiment of the ancient Church respecting this Star, is the opinion of Keppler, the late Bp Münster of Copenhagen, and Dr L. Ideler, that the phenomenon regarded by the Magi as the sign of the birth of the King was a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, on May 20th of the 39th Julian year, A. U. C. 747, B. C. 7, in the 20th degree of the sign Pisces, a sign which the astrologers appropriated peculiarly to Palestine (Ideler, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, II. Band. p. 406). It is once in a period of eight centuries, as Keppler observed, that this conjunction of the two great planets takes place in that same sign: the fifth occurrence before this which betokened Christ's birth having been at the Creation; the fourth in the days of Enoch; the third at the Flood; the next preceding at the great eras of Greece, Rome, and Babylon; the next after at the era of Charlemagne; the following at the time of our philosopher's liege lord, Rudolph II. Its occurrence at the birth of Moses is noted by Abarbanel, *Comment. in Daniel*. But Ideler remarks (p. 403) that the period, instead of 800 years, is but 794 years, 4 months, and 12 days.

To make this the ἀστέρα of S. Matthew, or indeed to refer this to any properly celestial appearance, we must do some violence to the text of the Evangelist. With Siskind, as quoted by Strauss (I. 288), we must suppose that the heavenly object which the Magi had seen in their own country, and which they saw again as they approached Bethlehem over the house of the Holy Child, appeared there *instantaneously*, so as to indicate the direction in which they should proceed to it,

Such, then, divested of extraneous circumstances which are either false or doubtful, is the star-directed visit of the Wise Men to the infant Saviour, as Christian faith receives it. We can understand an infidel who objects to the credibility of an extraordinary motion such as this, of a *stella facem ducens*, resembling a star in form, but so different from those whose movements are the subject-matter alike of the true science of astronomers and the false lore of genethliacs: *i.e.* we perceive the anti-supernatural ground he takes, while we commiserate the blindness which would set limits to Omnipotence on such an occasion of its exercise. Again, we can understand an infidel who, either overlooking these circumstances of difference from ordinary stars, or thinking they may be explained away satisfactorily in the sense of Priscillianists in former times, or of more respectable enquirers in the present, talks with Celsus of an astrological calculation of Christ's nativity as disfiguring the first Gospel. But it is impossible to understand an objector who, like Strauss, combines the two grounds of attack, and utters them almost in the same breath perpetually, notwithstanding their marked and evident incompatibility. It is hard to say whether confusion of ideas or bad faith is more prominent in one who, disclaiming all rationalistic modes of removing the mar-

the word *προήγεν* meaning not that it continuously went before them, which is contrary to the nature of a star, but that it *had* preceded them since they first saw it in the East, and there it was. It cannot be denied to Strauss, that to adopt this is to depart from the most obvious meaning of the sacred text, and to adopt the method of the rationalists.

This repugnance to the literal terms of the Evangelist, which admit not of being explained away satisfactorily, seems to be the cause why this opinion of some able and pious moderns was not entertained by any Catholic of antiquity, though apparently more likely to gain admission to their minds. The only place I know where a reverent estimation of the Magi's visit is joined to an apparent reference of it (though still not quite unambiguous) to Chaldean rules of genethliac observation, is in the work of a *Heathen* philosopher; viz. the commentary of Chalcidius on Plato's *Timæus*, dedicated by him to a Christian bishop, the celebrated Hosius of Corduba. The passage, though not an *independent* testimony (as has been already remarked, p. 292) to the fact recorded by S. Matthew, but a reflex of it, as the concluding reference to the Spanish bishop shews, is yet a signal heathen recognition of this Evangelical history. After a quotation from the *Iliad*, he says, "*Est quoque alia sanctior et venerabilior historia quæ perhibet, ortu Stellæ cujusdam, non morbos mortesque denunciatas, sed descensum Dei venerabilis ad humanæ conservationis rerumque mortalium gratiam. Quam stellam cum nocturno itinere suspexissent Chaldæorum profecto sapientes viri, et consideratione rerum cœlestium satis exercitati; quæsisse dicuntur recentem ortum Dei, repertaque illa majestate puerili veneratos esse, et vota Deo tantum convenientia nuncupasse; quæ tibi multo melius comperta sunt quam cæteris.*" Chalcid. *in Timæum*, cap. 7, § 125. How differently a Christian writer speaks of the star (viz. as not *predicting* but *following*), may be seen from the quotation in Fabricius; note, p. 325, *ed.* Hamburg, 1726.

vellous from what he deems a mythus, talks of the countenance given to astrology in this story: where the pretended astrologers are represented as led southward by the star of their calculation, and entering a particular house by its guidance⁶⁵.

But if not astrologers, is there any other characteristic of these Wise Men which should make the signal Divine favour shewed them incredible? Their proper nation, (for such, whatever may have been the region whence these individual Magi came⁶⁶, must *Persia* certainly be deemed,) was one that was distinguished from all the other great ruling nations of antiquity, as well by the comparative purity of their religion, as by their uniform gentleness, and often distinguished favour, to the people of God under their sway⁶⁷. To that nation's general abhorrence of idolatry, in all its grosser aspects, the Magian order mainly contributed: an order whose study of the powers and principles of nature was fitted to attain the best knowledge of God within the reach of the Gentiles of old; whose worshipful invocation of fire, air, and the rest, ever carefully distinguished those elementary powers from the Supreme Deity; and whose error respecting the origination of evil beings from Ahriman, and his share with Ormuzd in the formation of the world, was

⁶⁵ Compare his argument, pp. 279—282, respecting the countenance given to *die falsche Kunst der Astrologie*, with the refutation of the inconsistent supernaturalism of Süskind, Olshausen, &c. for endeavouring to make out the object of the Magi's observations to be a real star (an opinion which he should be interested to maintain with them) in pp. 288, 289, 295—297. Does then Dr Strauss imagine that the said false art of astrologers and genethliacs, instead of being concerned with the celestial spheres, like the science of genuine astronomers, relates to the *stellæ favem ducentes* of poets, or such motions as he is at such pains to affix as the indubitable meaning of the Evangelist, and to prove impossible—pp. 286, 7, 8? Such a supposition would involve an incredible ignorance: and yet without it the reasoning concerning astrology is destitute of meaning.

⁶⁶ *Persia* is represented as these Magi's residence by Clement of Alexandria, Cyril of Alexandria (*in Esaiam*), Basil, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Euthymius, Theophylact, &c. among the ancients; by Scaliger, Petavius, Casaubon, Spanheim, Maldonat, &c. among moderns. But *Arabia* is assigned to them by Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hilary, Epiphanius, and others (often resting on a peculiar interpretation of Is. viii. 4, as well as the predictions in Ps. lxxii. 10, &c.), with Michaelis and many other moderns, who allege the quality of their offerings. Others (influenced by that passage and by Balaam's prophecy) have supposed *Assyria* to be their residence.

⁶⁷ The books of Ezra, Esther, and Nehemiah, abound in proofs of this. Even the kings who looked with most suspicion on the Jews, and most regarded the calumnies of their Ammonitic or Samaritan enemies, appear mild in comparison with the Assyrian lords that preceded, and the Grecian that followed. It should seem that the same contrariety of feeling in the Persians and the Greeks, with respect to hero- and image-worship, that caused the former to be harsh masters, the latter (the Ptolemies) favourable ones to idolatrous *Egypt*, was reversed in their relations to the idol-hating *Palestine*.

unaccompanied, in their most ancient authorized books, with any of that ascription of independence to the evil principle, which imparts the chief malignity to that error; it being reserved for after times, when the Great Light had been fully promulgated, to draw out the falsehoods of their system into that actual enmity to the truth, which made the Magi under the Sassanide sovereigns the most virulent persecutors of the faith of Christ⁶⁸. From men of this order, in whom the errors were latent and undeveloped, while the good that God had imparted to them was cultivated and willingly followed, may we not recognise the Divine Wisdom in selecting those who should in this early stage prefigure and precede the calling of the Gentiles to His light; who should offer to the Incarnate Saviour the gifts which, whether consciously on their parts or not, symbolize⁶⁹ severally to the faithful of all after ages His sovereignty, His divinity, and His sufferings? And while the splendour of their

⁶⁸ Thus in the *Boundehesh*, or Cosmogony of Zoroaster, though the good and the evil Creators are made co-ordinate in power and in knowledge, there is a Supreme Deity, a Time without bounds, to which both are alike subject, and who will finally cause the latter, Petiareh Ahriman, with his works of darkness, to cease (*Zend-Avesta*, Tom. II. pp. 343, 4, and note). In some other Magian books, where the purer tradition of the old Mahábádian religion is predominant, the false doctrine of a Principle and creator of evil was kept out of sight. Thus in the prophecies ascribed to Shet Sasan, the son of the last Darius, referred to in note 61 *sup.*, we see it strongly laid down, as in the true faith, that there is but One necessarily existent, in whom all contingent essences have their subsistence; and that there cannot be two self-existent Principles: points on which his commentator descants often with great power and subtilty. (*Desátir*, pp. 149—164, in Mulla Firuz's version.)

With respect to the share of the Magi in the religious and moral concerns of the ancient Persians, the testimonies of Greek and Latin authors have been best collected by Brisson, *de Regio Persarum Principatu*, pp. 216—236. But the testimony of Philo, as a Jew, is most remarkable: according to whom the Magi τὰ φύσεως ἔργα διερευνῶμενοι πρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν ἀληθείας, καθ' ἡσυχίαν τὰς θείας ἀρετὰς τρανωτέrais ἐμφάσεις ιεροφαντοῦνται τε καὶ ιεροφαντοῦσι. (*Philonis Lib. δτι πᾶς σπουδαῖος ἐλεύθερος* [§ 11]).

For the peculiar hostility of the later Persian Magi to the religion which would annihilate their hereditary sacerdotal preeminence, see Sozomen. *Hist. Eccl.* Lib. II. cc. 8, seq., Asseman. *Acta Martyrum Orientalium*, &c. &c.

⁶⁹ Thus the presbyter Sedulius, in his "*Paschale Opus*" ad Theodosium Aug. Lib. II. v. 87:—

Ergo alacres summo servantes lumina cœlo
Fixa Magi, sidusque micans regale secuti,
Optatam tenuere viam; quæ lege futura
Duxit adorantes sacra ad cunabula gentes.
Thesaurisque simul pro religione solutis,
Ipse etiam ut possent species ostendere CHRISTUM,
Aurea nascenti fuderunt munera REGI,
Thura dedere DEO, myrrham tribuere SEPULCHRO.

The same distribution of the gifts is made by Prudentius, Origen (see note 64, *sup.*), Jerome, Gregory Nazianzen, and indeed by nearly all the ancients who speak of the Magi's offering.

gifts, the opulence and dignity of their persons, (they being not improbably toparchs as well as priests in the districts from which they came⁷⁰), perhaps, also, their very title (largely and loosely applied by Oriental usage, as the truly royal name of *Rājā* is at this day in India), might well suggest to a Christian intent on prophetic fulfilments that they not only prefigured, but were themselves, the first *kings* who should bow down and serve the Son of David, we discern no such process of thought in the Evangelist. Constantly as he cites the prophets, as in this very chapter, no expression of this fairly developed Christian sentiment on the Magi's offering, much less of the exaggerated and perverse statements of subsequent ages⁷¹, appears in his unadorned straightforward narrative. His manner is that of one too intent on his incidents, as chains in the course of events he is telling, to pause upon them in their relations to the remote past or future. It resembles as little as can be conceived the manner which would be produced were our mythist's hypothesis well founded, namely that all is said for the mere purpose of exhibiting a Star risen from Jacob, to smite with his influence the remote corners of the Gentile world—the Gentiles coming to this light, and kings to the brightness of this rising⁷².

But in this very method of the Evangelist, and his pursuance of the events to their immediate bearing on the infant-massacre and the Saviour's escape, Strauss would find a further proof of mythic narrative. And it is curious to remark his attempts to prove this: for, as is not unusual with him while catching at objections from different sides, they neutralize and destroy each other. The same critic, who objects to Herod's first minute interrogations about the star that he could have had *no need* to ascertain this, while he hoped to obtain the child by the Magi's means,—in other words, that, if such was his scheme, his confidence in them must necessarily have been so unwavering and absolute as to supersede all thought of learning particulars

⁷⁰ This point is conceded, or rather declared to be most probable, by Casaubon, *Exercitat.* II. num. 19, while reasoning against the legendary particulars respecting the "Three Kings," to which Baronius had given admission in his *Annales*.

⁷¹ For instance, the royal state and multitude of attendants with which Bonaventure describes them as coming to Bethlehem (*Life of Christ*, p. 56 of the complete English translation, Dublin, 1840): though, except for this incongruous circumstance, his narrative is clear of the gross and impious absurdities with which others long before his time had overloaded this remarkable passage of Sacred History.

⁷² Numb. xxiv. 17—19. Ps. lxxviii. 29, 30; lxxii. 10, 11. Is. lx. 3, &c.

of the Child's birth for himself⁷³,—proceeds in the very next paragraph to declare how improbable is the story that the wily Herod should have left the search to them, instead of instituting an independent investigation of his own from their report, or else sending myrmidons with them to destroy the child they adored. Surely one who objects in this style, suggests himself the sufficient answer to his cavils. Would not the suspicious tyrant be as eager at the very first to learn every obtainable particular respecting his proclaimed rival from the conscious strangers, as if he expected them to fail him, and he were then abandoned to his own resources for finding the Child? And might it not appear to him, at the same time, after anxious deliberation, the surest and best road to his object, first to win the Wise Men's confidence by pretended sympathy with their pursuit, to help them with information respecting it, and then when they are sent to the small town of Bethlehem to commit to them alone the search who were sure to prosecute it zealously, who would excite no suspicion, but draw forth confidence in the hidden guardians of the infant heir of David; who might thus most effectually draw out the adherents and the resources of his dreaded rival for his cognizance and timely extinction; who also by going alone would be the less likely to communicate to the "troubled" inhabitants of Jerusalem the dangerous contagion of their devotion to the Holy Child? The narrative clearly indicates in Herod's "privy" conference with these strangers, his especial anxiety that they should not communicate with his subjects, but with himself only: and the same motive, which would

⁷³ I. 283: "Nach dem angegebenen Responsum des Synedriums beruft nun Herodes die Magier, und seine erste Frage ist nach der Zeit, wann ihnen der Stern erschienen sei (v. 7). Wozu brauchte er diess zu erfahren? Der 16te Vers sagt es uns," &c. In other words, the mere story-teller betrays himself by making Herod ask questions of which the answers could be of no manner of use to him, so long as he trusted in the Magi finding the child for him: and exceeding contempt is manifested in the note towards a critic who suggests the common sense of the case; viz. that one so very curious and suspicious would wish to control their information and know all for himself. No, this it seems is inconsistent with the Gospel, which ascribes to Herod at this time a perfect repose of confidence in the Magi doing all he wished, without the least trouble or care of his own on the matter. Having pretended to see this in the Evangelist, which none beside himself could see in the solicitude and secrecy that accompanies Herod's assumed frankness to these strangers, he proceeds in the next paragraph to shew how exceedingly improbable was such unclouded confidence on his part! Granted. But what sane man ever imputed such a feeling to him, or gave this as a reason for his *awaiting* their return? Was it not reason enough that he thought them alone possessed of skill and zeal for discovering the secret, and through them saw the best hope of gaining it for himself? It was certainly with no reposing confidence, but with feverish anxiety, that he awaited their return to Jerusalem.

make him dread to associate with them even satellites of his own in this their pious journey, would also induce him to avoid, as far as he possibly could, the employment of any Jew in such a work as searching out where the Lord Christ, the hope of Israel, lay concealed. Is there anything to indicate extraordinary infatuation here, when measured by the habitual policy of one to whom on this matter even his own household was suspected⁷⁴? The scheme was assuredly well laid for its object, which required nothing less for its defeat than a divine interposition, warning the honest strangers against his well-dissembled mischief⁷⁵: and thus extraordinarily defeated we see nothing in

⁷⁴ Matt. ii. 7: on which a good ancient interpreter asks, *Διὰ τί λάθρα τούτους ἐκέλεσε; διότι ὑπόπτευε τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ὡς συγγενεῖς τοῦ Χριστοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἤθελεν ἀκούειν αὐτοὺς ἃ ἐμελλεν ἐρωτῆσαι καὶ παραγγείλαι, μήποτε νοήσαντες ὅτι ἐπιβουλεύει αὐτῷ, διασώσιν αὐτὸν ὡς ἴδιον βασιλέα.* (Euthym. Zig. *Comm. in Evangelia*, Tom. i. p. 61, ed. Matthæi.) There can be no doubt of the correctness of this in the mind of every attentive reader of this narrative. The tyrant has evidently three things in his mind: 1, to keep the strangers and their purpose as much as possible apart from the knowledge of his subjects; 2, to ingratiate himself into their good will so as to obtain himself readily from them the information that no others could give so efficaciously; 3, to withhold, during the period of suspense, all communication even with the instruments of his will, lest, through the religious instincts of Jews, they might sympathize with the Magi's enquiries, and inform them of his intention to circumvent them; to withhold, I say, all communication even with these, till the blow was to be actually struck which should rid him of his infant rival. It was in this last method that Herod's cunning overreached itself: but this will not prove the method absurd in itself, or unlike him. (See p. 285, *sup.* and the note.)

⁷⁵ It suits Strauss's purpose to say that Herod had ill concealed his evil designs from the Wise Men: but how does he know that? None could more skilfully wear a mask with strangers like these, or exert greater powers of insinuation than he, as the Roman proconsuls and Augustus himself might witness.

The danger to his project, either of the Magi being warned by others of his character, or of the parents or guardians of the infant Christ taking alarm at "the dangerous interest he took in their child," is acknowledged by Strauss. But strange to say, instead of seeing in all this a powerful reason why he should let the Magi go alone, he makes it an argument for the contrary: viz. for either sending satellites of his own with them (who must, of course, pretend sympathy with the object of their journey, and inspire that fear more obviously and directly than could be done by the mere information of the Wise Men to the parents), in the very precarious hope of their being able to murder the child the instant before any alarm could be excited: or else for detaining the Magi perforce at Jerusalem, while his own emissaries were to make the search, unaided by their lights and their zeal.

His words are (i. 284): "Konnte er auch durch die freundliche Maske, die er vornahm, die Magier für sich etwa zu täuschen hoffen: so musste er doch nothwendig voraussehen, dass Andere sie auf seine wahrscheinlich übeln Ansichten mit dem Kinde aufmerksam machen, und von der Rückkehr zu ihm abhalten würden. Von den Eltern des Kindes konnte er vermuthen, dass sie, wenn sie von seinem gefährlichen Interesse an demselben hörten, es durch Flucht in Sicherheit bringen würden; so wie endlich von denjenigen, welche in Bethlehem und der Umgegend messianische Erwartungen hegten, dass sie durch die Ankuft der Magier nicht wenig in denselben bestärkt werden müssten. Aus allen diesen Gründen musste Herodes entweder die Magier in Jerusalem aufhalten, und indessen durch geheime Abgesandte das in dem kleinen Bethlehem leicht zu erfragende Kind, an welches sich so besondre Hoffnungen knüpften, aus dem Wege

him but the very ordinary case of a crafty man ensnared by his own craftiness. Doubtless by this excess of suspicion, by thus confiding exclusively (not, as Strauss puts it, in the Magi, but) in himself, he lost the opportunity which the employment of emissaries might have given him of learning betimes where the strangers alighted and unfolded their treasures. And the consciousness of this neglect would add the utmost exasperation to his disappointment, when, after the anxious waiting of several days, he discovered that the men, so apparently unsuspecting in their grateful acceptance of his direction, and sincere in their promise to return, had actually "mocked" or eluded him, and taken another route than that of Jerusalem for their journey eastward. But neither in the previous suppression of purpose, nor the violent outbreak which followed, in which revenge against the supposed accomplices at Bethlehem⁷⁶ would unite with his determination to slay every one whose age could mark him as the possible object of the Wise Men's adoration, is there anything unnatural or improbable, as referred to the usual conduct of the man. The *dementia* with which he is really chargeable belongs to the design itself, not to the means employed for compassing it: and glaring as is the infatuation of learning prophetic declarations for the mere purpose of counterworking them, it is nothing more in kind than what marks in a measure the proceedings of all bad men, and what constantly characterized his own.

But this is not the whole of this two-sided and self-destroying objection. The same critic who sees in Herod's early interrogatories only an anticipation of the coming catastrophe *by the narrator*,—who thinks the mythical character of the narrative

räumen lassen; oder er musste den Magiern Begleiter mitgeben, welche das kind, sobald es von jenen aufgefunden wäre, auf die sicherste Weise um das Leben brächten."

⁷⁶ Strauss assumes (I. 291) that Herod could easily assure himself of the fact, that the child who had received such rich presents was no longer at Bethlehem. But how can we be certain that evidence such as the jealous tyrant would esteem sufficient to stay the massacre, could be afforded in this case? Had the event been different, the Bethlehemites indicating by sufficient testimony the child to whom the visit was paid, and placing that child in his power, might doubtless have averted the cruel order. But as the matter really was, their attempts to prove that it was a certain child *now fled* who had been so honoured would never be received by Herod as reason for countermanding his inhuman precaution. The story of the flight would be taken either as a lying pretence, or, in proportion as it was really suspected to be true, as a provocative of vengeance against them for allowing or abetting the escape.

betrayed by this, and sneers at the "singular happiness" of Herod finding himself in possession of all the information needed for ordering the massacre when the time for this in the story arrived, (as if previously to this he could have had no earthly reason for desiring such information at all⁷⁷!)—this same critic gravely objects to the same narrator his violation of all sound Horatian rule in his distribution of the marvellous; above all, in giving to Joseph two nightly visions in Egypt and Judæa, to inform him of what might so easily have been compressed into one, and thus lead him at once to Galilee from his exile. The logical conclusion from this premiss, if admitted, should appear to be that the Evangelist is either an unskilful constructor of mythi, or none at all. But our author's conclusion is directly contrary: it is that mere human opinion, rather than divine information as to the fact, must have given birth to the relation of wonders so exceeding what was just precisely necessary to the development of his story⁷⁸. Admirable sagacity! to carry into the examination of an alleged statement of fact the self-same criticism which would be bestowed on the conduct of an avowed religious fiction, and introduce the maxim "*Nec Deus intersit &c.*" as if it were applicable on exactly the same principles to both! Are then the endless complications of things brought so completely under the cognizance of the synthetic Hegelian phi-

⁷⁷ I. 284: "Vorher war nach v. 8. seine Absicht, sich durch die wiederkehrenden Magier das Kind, dessen Wohnung und übrige Verhältnisse so genau beschreiben zu lassen, dass er es nachher nicht verfehlen, und ohne andere mitzumorden, aus dem Wege räumen lassen könnte. Erst als die Magier ausblieben, war er zu jener andern Massregel veranlasst, zu deren Behuf er die Zeit, wann der Stern erschienen war, wissen musste. Wie glücklich daher für ihn, dass er, auch ohne noch jenen Plan zu haben, doch gleich Anfangs nach dieser Zeit sich erkundigte; aber auch wie unbegreiflich, dass er dieses, was ihm bei seinem ersten Plane Nebensache war, gleich zu seiner ersten Frage (*καλέσας—ἠκρίβωσε κ.τ.λ.* v. 7) und zur Hauptangelegenheit machte." And how happy, may we say with equal truth, is the *reductio ad absurdum* which absolutely requires for its cogency that we admit this as a first principle of argument; to wit, that no man can ever provide himself with a resource against his plan failing him, so long as it continues his main plan! How pleasant to construct on this principle the conclusion that, the said plan once supposed, no doubt or suspicion of the Magi responding exactly to his wishes could ever cross the breast of the serenely confiding Herod, before the event happened! How pleasant to father this conclusion on the Evangelic statement (which, so far from requiring it, suggests the contrary) purely in order to deride it in the next paragraph!

⁷⁸ I. 293: "Ein ganz entschiedener Ueberfluss ist es nun aber, dass die beiden letzten Weisungen im Traume nicht vereinigt sind; denn was dem Joseph bei der letzten gesagt wurde, dass er wegen des Archelaus nicht nach Bethlehem, sondern nach Nazaret ziehen solle, das konnte doch wohl einfacher schon bei der vorangegangenen hinzugesetzt werden. Eine solche, bis zur Verschwendung gehende Nichtachtung der *lex parsimonie* in Bezug auf das Wunderbare muss man versucht sein, eher der menschlichen Meinung, als der göttlichen Vorsehung zuzuschreiben."

losophy, that we can as confidently pronounce an event unlikely to have happened because of its less perceptible necessity towards a certain *denouement* or catastrophe, as we could pronounce the invention of it unnecessary to a story-teller or a dramatist? If so, they are much mistaken who have told us that truth is stranger than fiction,—*que le vrai n'est pas toujours vraisemblable*,—that a story rounded on every side according to Aristotelian precept, with its beginning, middle, and end, is not often found in real life, or in the domain of history. Doubtless what is becoming in an inventor to imagine of the Almighty's interposition is to be measured by what we perceive of His wisdom and justice; even as what is ascribed in fictitious writing to men should be regulated by the known characteristics of human action. But if invention differs from truth with respect to the latter, (on account of its limited subject-matter, of which the inventor and his intelligent critic are, of course, fully cognizant,) how much more may this be expected in the former! The absurdity which revolts us, in this and innumerable other instances of pantheistic objection, is that of applying hypothetically to Divine proceedings a judgment which none, unless quite sure that every particular of the case were before him, would think for very shame of applying to the alleged proceedings of any wise and able man⁷⁹.

We are not then concerned to shew cause why Joseph should have received *in Judæa*, rather than in any other place, the intimation that it was unsafe to remain there, i.e. that the ethnarch Archelaus, intent on his father's designs against the Christ, were a less eligible ruler than the milder brother Antipas, tetrarch of the northern region to which David's humble descendant is now told to bear his precious charge. To attempt this absolutely were to imitate the folly of the objector; for amidst the several reasons that might occur to us, the true one might not be found after all. Enough to know and maintain, as we do, that none can without absolute fatuity assert the necessity, in order to the propriety of the Divine proceeding, that Joseph should have received this intimation *in Egypt*. Still less does it concern us to notice the minor instances, as Strauss deems them, of superfluous Divine interposition: when he

⁷⁹ See the remarks, pp. 137, 138 *sup.*

remarks, how "not only without inconvenience, but even with advantage," (!) the star and the first nightly warning to the Magi might have been united in a single miracle, so as to bring them at once to Bethlehem without Herod's assistance: an arrangement which would also have probably avoided the massacre (!); which the orthodox are consequently obliged⁸⁰ to reconcile, as best they may, with the justice and benevolence of God. A man who thus thinks himself able to dictate what ought to be the Divine proceeding, and in whose eyes there can be of course no Divine superintendence in a world where such enormities are perpetrated, is perfectly consistent with himself when he proceeds to deride the ideas of Catholic Christians respecting these infants: ideas not framed, as he seems to think, to meet criticisms like his, but excited by the mere objective contemplation of their case. The dignity and blessedness of thus suffering, though unconsciously, for Him who came to redeem mankind from sin and sorrow and death has ever struck the Christian Church from the first; and "in the thoroughly ancient style," despite of the senseless scoffs of the infidel, such will be her language and sentiment to the world's end.

⁸⁰ After remarking that there was *one* extraordinary star, and *four* nightly revelations, he says, p. 292, "Schon der Stern und das erste Traungesicht hätten, wie oben bemerkt, nicht nur ohne Schaden, sondern selbst mit Nutzen in Eins zusammengethan werden können: so dass entweder der Stern oder die Traumer-scheinung gleich Anfangs die Magier von Jerusalem ab nach Bethlehem gewiesen hätte: wodurch das von Herodes verhängte Blutbad vielleicht wäre zu verhüten gewesen, &c. (as above, note 78)." But on *this* he had before said: i. 285: "Aber die andre Seite dieser göttlichen Veranstaltung ist, dass nun statt des Einen viele andere Kinder sterben mussten. Hiegegen wäre für den Fall nichts einzuwenden, wenn es erweislich auf andere Art nicht möglich gewesen wäre, Jesum einem, mit dem Erlösungszwecke unvereinbaren, Schicksal zu entziehen. Aber wenn Gott einmal so übernatürlich eingriff, dass er das Gemüth des Herodes verblendete, und den Magiern später eingab, nicht mehr nach Jerusalem zurückzukehren: warum gab er diesen nicht gleich Anfangs ein, mit Umgehung Jerusalems geradezu nach Bethlehem zu reisen, wo dann die Aufmerksamkeit des Herodes nicht so unmittelbar erregt, und so vielleicht das ganze Unheil vermieden worden wäre? Hiegegen bleibt auf diesem Standpunkte nichts übrig, als im ganz altem Style zu sagen, den Kindern sie es gut gewesen, so frühe umzukommen, weil sie so durch ein kurzes Leiden vielem Elende und namentlich der Gefahr entzogen wurden, sich mit den ungläubigen Juden an Jesu zu versündigen; weil sie nun die Ehre hatten, um Christi willen ihr Leben zu lassen und Märtyrer zu werden. u. s. w. (sic)." Who does not recognize in this kind of writing a disbelief of Natural Religion as marked as the rejection of the Gospel: that the author is not even entertaining the idea of theism as a hypothesis, which his argument requires him to do, (but which, once supposed, would make all this assumption of knowing the whole scope and course of things not only false, but ridiculous); that he is, in fact, and almost in words, criticizing the chapter as a mere story, having all its incidents and circumstances and relations within the cognizance, and at the disposal, of the narrator; i. e. that he is altogether begging the question he should discuss, while evincing at the same time his disbelief of any presiding Divinity and Omniscience?

Salvete flores martyrum,
Quos Lucis ipso in limine
CHRISTI insecutor sustulit,
Ceu turbo nascentes rosas.
Vos prima CHRISTI victima,
Grex immolatorum tener :
Aram ante ipsam simplices
Palma et coronis luditis⁸¹.

A more tangible objection, and requiring explicit reply from the believer, is the imputation to the Evangelist of false citation of certain ancient prophecies, as referring to the above and to other events of his present narrative. With a short consideration of these I will conclude this section of the enquiry.

It is not denied, it cannot be denied even by our author, that were the Pharisees and doctors of that age consulted by Herod as to the place where the promised Christ should be born, they would have answered, even as St Matthew represents them as answering, by the citation from Micah concerning Bethlehem. The sole question is, whether an interpretation of prophecy thus received by all the Jewish interpreters for ages before our Lord,—from which the Jews of his time were instructed to expect as an indispensable mark of the Messiah that he should come “out of the town of Bethlehem where David was⁸²,”—an interpretation literally conveyed in the Chaldee paraphrase of the place, and even in Rabbinical com-

⁸¹ Prudent. *Hymnus* XII. (Epiphaniæ) vv. 125 seq.

I cannot help giving another specimen of the *ganz alten Style* which is so much the object of our critic's contempt, from the productions of an intellect far deeper and more accurate than his: “Interea Rex noster, Verbum infans, Magis illum adorantibus, parvulis pro illo morientibus, sive jacebat, sive sugebat; et nondum lecutus, credentes inveniebat: et nondum passus, martyres faciebat. O parvuli beati, modo nati, nunquam tentati; nondum luctati, jam coronati! Ille de vestra corona dubitaverit in passione pro Christo, qui etiam baptismum parvulis prodesse non existimat Christi. Non habebatis quidem ætatem, qua in Christum passurum crederetis: sed habebatis carnem, in qua pro Christo passuro passionem sustineretis. Nullo modo istos infantes desereret gratia Salvatoris infantis; qui venerat quærere quod perierat, non solum in carne nascendo, verum etiam in cruce pendendo. Nam qui potuit natus habere prædicatores Angelos, narratores cælos, adoratores Magos, potuit et illis ne pro eo hic morerentur præstare, si sciret illa morte perituros, et non potius majore felicitate victuros. Absit, absit ut ad liberandos homines veniens, de illorum præmio qui pro eo interficerentur nihil egerit, qui pendens in ligno pro eis a quibus interficiebatur oravit.” D. Augustin. *Serm.* 373 (*de Epiphania*), Tom. v. p. 1024. *ed.* Benedict.

⁸² The traditional sentiment of the Jews is sufficiently evident from their expression of the impossibility of the Messiah coming from Galilee: Οὐχὶ ἡ γραφὴ εἶπεν, ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος Δαβὶδ, καὶ ἀπὸ Βηθλεὲμ τῆς κώμης ὅπου ἦν Δαβὶδ, ὁ Χριστὸς ἔρχεται; John vii. 42. The γραφή here includes manifestly this passage of Micah; and the καὶ betokens sufficiently that the coming from David's city of Bethlehem is a distinct circumstance, not necessarily involved in his being the Son of David.

mentaries of a much later date⁸³,—does really express the true prophetic meaning, or whether Paulus and De Wette have succeeded in exploding it. So clearly, in Strauss's judgment, has the matter been set at rest by those formidable critics, that, content with barely indicating their judgment, he proceeds on the strength of it to press the orthodox with the difficulty how a plainly false application of prophecy could be the divinely sanctioned means of conducting the Magi to the truth. But before replying to a question so really difficult as this, may we not demur to the previous assumption; and enquire what is the reason on which the destructive criticism proceeds? It

⁸³ The following is the Targum of Jonathan, placed beside the Hebrew original, distinguishing his paraphrastic additions in English by Italics, which shew how he understood the text of the Prophet.

MICAH V. 2.

CHALD.

ואת בית לחם אפרתה
כוער הויתא לאתמנא
באלפא דבית יהודה
מנך קדמי יפוק משיחא
למהוי עביר שולטן על ישראל
די שמיא אמיר מלקדמין
מיומי עלמא

HEB.

ואת בית לחם אפרתה
צעיר להיות
באלפי יהודה
ממך לי יצא
להיות מושל בישראל
ומוצאתיו מקדם
מימי עולם

"And thou Bethlehem Ephratah, wast *as* a little one to be *numbered* among the thousands of the house of Judah: (but) from thee *before* me shall *CHRIST* go forth, to be a ruler over Israel: whose *name is told* of old, from the days of eternity." This version is chiefly remarkable for declaring the object of the prediction to be the Messiah: to the fact of the great Ruler himself coming forth from Bethlehem, the Targum only adds the more distinctly graphic קדמי *coram me* instead of the simple לי *mihi* of the original. But the circumstance of its being a paraphrase gives explicitness to its testimony on this point: inasmuch as if Jonathan had thought with Kimchi that it was merely a *mediate* origination from Bethlehem that is predicated of the Messiah, he would have expressed the idea like him in his paraphrase. The argument is stronger with respect to Kimchi's contemporary, R. Solomon Jarchi: who though, like him, a disciple of Maimonides, and adding even more extravagant glosses to the original text, concurs in the old representation of Jonathan, that the Messiah should *personally* spring from Bethlehem. His paraphrase of Micah. v. 2, is ראוי היית להיות צעיר במשפחות אלפי יהודה מפני פסולת רות המואביה שבך ממך לי יצא משיח בן דוד "Thou (Bethlehem Ephratah) wast indeed worthy to be little among the families of Judah, on account of the pollution of Ruth the Moabitess which was in thee: (yet) out of thee shall *CHRIST* the son of David go forth: and thus it is written; The stone which the builders rejected is become the headstone of the corner." The odious Pharisaism of this comment, in which even the calling of Ruth into Israel is treated as a Gentile pollution, only strengthens our argument from such an author's adherence to the old statement: viz. that Christ, like his ancestor, should go forth from Bethlehem. (See the *Pug. Fid.* pp. [155 and] 526, etc.)

is simply this: that, whether by the מֶלֶךְ or "Ruler" of Micah v. 2, we understand, with the ancient Jews, the Messiah, or, with some later ones, Zorobabel⁸⁴ or any other Prince of the same line, yet, since the whole context of the passage proves that it is the descent of the future Deliverer from the ancient lords that is in the prophet's mind, *therefore* his birth at Bethlehem cannot be the thing intended in the second verse, but only his descent from David, whose original family seat was Bethlehem. Such is the sum and substance of the argument: the invention, not of these German critics, but of certain anti-christian Rabbies⁸⁵ of the twelfth century of our era, making

⁸⁴ This interpretation was commonly adopted by the unbelieving Jews in their earlier attacks on the Gospel: and strange as the adoption of it by any Christian may appear, it was maintained to be the proper sense of Micah by Theodore of Mopsuestia; as it was in later times by one of sounder creed, but, like him*, strangely disposed to Judaize in his interpretation of Old Testament prophecy, the learned Grotius.

Chrysostom, while mentioning this interpretation, and solidly confuting it, withholds in tenderness the advocacy of it by the heretical bishop, his former preceptor, and treats it as the groundless and "shameless" pretence of *Jews* only. Speaking of the application to our Lord, he says: Σκόπει δὲ καὶ τῆς προφητείας τὴν ἀκρίβειαν. Οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ὅτι ἐν Βηθλεὲμ μενεῖ, ἀλλ', ἐξελεύσεται. ὥστε καὶ τοῦτο προφητείας ἦν, τὸ γεννηθῆναι ἐκεῖ μόνον. Τινὲς δὲ αὐτῶν ἀναισχυνοῦντές φασι, περὶ τοῦ Ζωροβάβελ ταῦτα εἰρῆσθαι· καὶ πῶς ἂν ἔχοιεν λόγον; Οὐ γὰρ δὴ "αἱ ἐξοδοὶ αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἐξ ἡμερῶν αἰῶνος." Πῶς δὲ τὸ ἐν ἀρχῇ λεχθὲν ὅτι "ἐκ σοῦ ἐξελεύσεται," ἀρμόσειεν ἂν ἐκείνῳ; Οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Βαβυλῶνι ἐτέχθη· ὅθεν καὶ Ζωροβάβελ ἐκλήθη διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ σπαρῆναι. καὶ ὅσοι τὴν Σύρων Ἰσασί γλῶτταν, Ἰσασί τὸ λεγόμενον (*Hom. VII. in Matt. Tom. I. p. 88. ed. Field*). This etymology of Zorobabel (or זְרֹבָבֶל) from זָרַי *sparsit*, and בָּבֶל or *Babylon*, for which Chrysostom appeals to those skilled in the language of Palestine, is approved by the best modern Hebraists.

The double circumstance, that neither was Zorobabel born at Bethlehem, but at Babylon, and that his procession is not of old from the days of eternity (an expression vainly attempted to be referred merely to a long royal ancestry), seems to have impelled the Jews to another expedient in an age long subsequent to this, which we shall next notice. Meanwhile, Strauss, though resting chiefly on that, will not deprive himself altogether of this plan, which denies the application to the Messiah *in toto*. After observing that the chief priests' citation of Micah for the Christ's birthplace, is "pressing the words in the known Rabbinical fashion," he says: "Denn abgesehen davon, ob unter dem מֶלֶךְ in der angeführten Stelle der Messias verstanden werden darf oder nicht, so bezeichnet doch nach dem ganzen Zusammenhange das Ausgehen des erwarteten Herrschers aus Bethlehem nicht eben ein Geborenwerden an diesem Orte, sondern nur die Abstammung von dem Davidischen Geschlechte, dessen alter Stammort Bethlehem war. Sind also die Magier durch die rabbinische Exegese des Orakels richtig geführt worden: so hat eine falsche Auslegung diessmal das Wahre getroffen: entweder durch anbequeme Veranstaltung Gottes, oder durch Zufall; worüber wie oben zu urtheilen ist." I. 283. (An assertion as distinguished by *ἀναισχυντία* as the older scheme.)

⁸⁵ Namely, the celebrated Rabbies, Abraham Aben Ezra and David Kimchi:

* In justice to this unhappily eminent bishop, it should be noted that he does not deny an ulterior issue in the Lord Christ, πέρας τὴν ἐκβασιν εἰληφεν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεσποῦ Χριστοῦ, while contending that the whole prophecy directly refers to the (most imperfect) restitution of David's principality after the Babylonian exile, by Zorobabel. His argument, for which he cites the 88th Psalm (89 Heb.), may be seen in pp. 146, 7, of his *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*, published in *Ang. Mss. Scriptorum Veth. Nova Collectio*, Tom. vi. Rom. 1832.

the ever pre-supposed fact of David's birth at Bethlehem Ephrata to prejudice the assertion, which the older Jews as well as Christians have read distinctly in that verse, that the greater Son of David should be born there also.

Now as the appeal is made from the sense of the ancient synagogue and the Church to the evident drift of the prophetic discourse, let us submit the question on that ground alone to the decision of any sound impartial judgment. In the days of the Morasthite prophet, which were those of the kings Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah,—the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth in lineal descent from David,—it was matter of observation, not unmixed with wonder, that the paternal city of that great king should have still retained the humble character that had belonged to it in the days of his private ancestors, Boaz and Obed. The very name, *City of David*, which should seem ever rightfully to have adhered to it, as we read in Luke ii. 4, 11, was transferred, during the whole period of the prophetic writings, to another far more celebrated place, the fort of Mount Sion in Jerusalem⁸⁶. That fortress, which in his ancestors' days was held by the alien Jebusite on the confines of Judah and Benjamin, David first made the joint possession of both. And fixing there the ark of God he made it not only the symbol of union of his royal tribe with that of the rejected Saul, but the centre of God's covenanted mercies with the twelve tribes of Israel, and of his own royalty over them all; as subsequently, when Ephraim revolted, it continued the centre of the restricted royalty over those two tribes, which, having this common metropolis, remained still faithful to his

followed in this by the no less famed doctor of the 15th century, and yet more virulent enemy of Christianity, D. Isaac Abarbanel. Kimchi thus paraphrases the verse (Micah v. 2). להיותך נמנע בערי אלפי יהודה צעיר אתה כננדם ואעפ"ך i.e. "Although thou be denied a place among the cities of the thousands of Judah, being little in respect of them, nevertheless from thee shall come forth to me the Christ: because he shall be of the seed of David, who was of Bethlehem Judah." Thus also Aben Ezra's gloss on the מנך "from thee (Bethlehem)," is מכני בניך הראשונים "from the sons of thy first sons (Boaz, &c. &c.);" and that of Abarbanel is לחם מורע דוד אשר נולד בבית לחם "of the seed of David who was born at Bethlehem." (*Pug. Fid.* [p. 155], Deyling, [*Observ. Sacr.* Pars v. p. 121. Lips. 1748.])
⁸⁶ Thus the contemporary prophet Isaiah xxii. 9, 10; xxix. 1.—and the books of Kings and Chronicles *passim*. And that this was by David's express appointment, desiring that this common centre of Judah and Benjamin should especially bear his name who first effectually dispossessed the Jebusite (see Jos. xv. 63; Judg. i. 8, 21; xix. 10, 11, 12), we are told in 2 Sam. v. 6—9; 1 Chron. xi. 4—8.

house. Meanwhile Bethlehem, more central in Judæa, though itself not far from the Benjamitic border, remained, during the whole period of the Davidic monarchy, an inconsiderable place: and that, not only by the side of the royal Jerusalem, but of the other cities of Judah, for example of the priestly Hebron, which David had made the capital of his earlier and purely Judaical kingdom. This then was the condition of Bethlehem when Micah wrote the oracle now in question; describing the origin, from this paternal seat of David, of one who should be a yet more eminent Shepherd or Leader of Israel, and who should redeem the remnant of Jacob from the power of alien enemies for ever. I will give the words of the prophet, both in the terms of the original text, (in which the Hebrew and LXX. agree,) and in the more compendious though paraphrastic form in which their substance is exhibited by the chief priests to Herod. Though widely differing in terms, the sense of both is evidently the same; the verbal discrepancy, however interesting as a critical question, not affecting in the least the graver theological argument with which we are now concerned⁸⁷.

⁸⁷ This may be better understood by comparing the LXX. version of *Michæas* with the Greek of the Gospel.

Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ οἶκος Ἐφραθὰ
ὀλιγοστός εἰ τοῦ εἶναι
ἐν χιλιάσιν Ἰούδα·
Ἐκ σοῦ μοι ἐξελεύσεται
τοῦ εἶναι εἰς ἄρχοντα
τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ.
καὶ ἔξοδοι αὐτοῦ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
ἐξ ἡμερῶν αἰῶνος.

καὶ ποιμανεῖ τὸ ποίμνιον αὐτοῦ
ἐν ἰσχύϊ Κύριος
καὶ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ ὀνόματος
Κυρίου Θεοῦ αὐτῶν ὑπάρξουσιν·
διότι νῦν μεγαλυνθήσονται
ἕως ἀκρῶν τῆς γῆς.

Καὶ σὺ Βηθλεὲμ, γῆ Ἰούδα,
οὐδαμῶς ἐλαχίστη εἰ
ἐν τοῖς ἡγεμόσιν Ἰούδα·
ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ ἐξελεύσεται
ἡγούμενος,

ὅστις ποιμανεῖ τὸν λαόν
μου,

τὸν Ἰσραὴλ.

There is not much reason for critical solicitude in the comparison of these two places: for this is not properly an Evangelic citation, but an abridged representation by the chief priests to Herod of the spirit and meaning of the passage which pointed out Bethlehem as Christ's natal place. And, thus viewed, it is by no means inaccurate. Nor are we obliged to assent to the Orthodoxus in Theodoret's first Dialogue (*Immutabilis: Opera*, Tom. III. p. 16, *ed.* Schulz.) who imputes to malignity on their part the omission of the clause which speaks of the eternal origination of the Messiah (*κακοήθως παρέλιπον*). (The bearing of that clause on the mystery of the eternal generation of the Son is well argued with the Jews in Voisin's notes on the *Pugio Fidei* of Raymund Martin, p. 498, *ed.* Carpzov. That this clause should be explained away by those who are thinking of Zorobabel is natural: but that those who apply the prophecy to our Lord should fail to discern

MICAH v. 2, 4.

And thou, Bethlehem Ephratah, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth that is to be Ruler in Israel; whose goings forth are from of old, from the days of eternity..... And he shall stand and feed in the strength of the LORD, in the majesty of the name of the LORD his God; and they shall abide: for now shall he be great unto the ends of the earth.

MATT. ii. 5, 6.

(Thus it is written by the Prophet,)

And thou Bethlehem, in the land of Juda, art not the least among the princes of Juda: for out of thee shall come forth a Ruler, that shall feed my people Israel.

Here then is the question. If Bethlehem, of little account in Micah's day, notwithstanding David's birth there three centuries before, was hereafter to be honoured on account of the origination from it of David's descendant,—for such is on both sides the confessed meaning of the prophetic passage just quoted,—is it reasonable to understand that origination as *direct*, or as *remote* and *mediate* only? Are we, in other words, to understand that, being the birthplace, not of the great ancestor only, but of the greater descendant, Bethlehem should thus attain an honour which it had *not* in the time of the Prophet: or, rejecting this as gratuitous and evidently false, are we to understand that its *old* distinction, as David's birthplace and the original seat of his house, should then at length begin to be duly recognized, when the descendant (born elsewhere)⁸⁸ should confer fresh honours on that house? Which of

that truth in it, is extraordinary. It is however not only the Socinian, Sam. Crellius, who, interpreting this of Jesus Christ, explains this eternal procession to denote merely the eternity of the *Divine decree* concerning Him, but, through another prepossession, Calvin also. His great admirer Spanheim (*Dub. Ev.* II. 438) in vain labours to excuse this; himself strenuously and ably defending the Catholic interpretation of the clause.)

⁸⁸ This, as we have seen in note 84, was certainly the case with Zorobabel, 'him of the dispersion of Babylon,' as his Hebrew name imports, and who had moreover (like Daniel and the three holy children before him) a Chaldean name, *Sheshbassar* (Ezra i. 8; v. 14), to bear in the land of his exile; which in *his* case was also the land of his birth. The unbelieving Jews, therefore, who, from the impossibility of satisfactorily assigning this prophecy to Hezekiah, and still less to any later king, applied it to that eminent chief of Judah, were thus forced to maintain his predicted origination from Bethlehem to be merely an origination from David; because all progenitors after Salmon (born in the desert) till David (included) had sprung thence: whereas the much longer line of ancestors posterior to David were all born, or nearly all, at Jerusalem; until the last, Salathiel, who was born at Babylon. What these men were reluctantly forced to by the necessi-

these interpretations will our umpire think most agreeable to the reason of the case, to the terms of the cited passage, to the circumstances that met the eye of the writer, or to the general scope of his discourse, confessedly connecting the future Ruler with his progenitor? When this question is decided on its own apparent merits, the decision will not, I apprehend, be much disturbed by hearing that the former is the sense of the ancient Jews and the whole Christian Church; the other then only proposed in the Rabbinical schools, when, after their ablest men were sensible of the vanity of applying Micah's words to Zorobabel or any other inferior personage, this method was devised for combining their fathers' application of the prophecy to the Messiah with hostility to its fulfilment in *Jesus Christ*⁸⁹.

The case is of a somewhat different kind with respect to the next two alleged misinterpretations: of which I will first con-

ties of their false application, (for doubtless they would have been happy to fit the prophecy, by making out, if possible, that Zorobabel was born at Bethlehem), that is done advisedly and from choice by the latest Jews, while applying the prophecy to the Messiah. In order to wrest a sign of Messiahship from us, they deny it to be one of those signs that He should personally spring from Bethlehem Ephrata. The origination thence, after generations of more remote dispersion, of their imagined future Christ, will be therefore far less immediate than that even of Zorobabel was; nay, than that of our Lord would have been, had He been born, as the objecting Jews said in John vii., at Nazareth, instead of Bethlehem.

In this mediate sense of the מִיכָיִל (mihi egredietur) of the prophecy, whether as referred to Zorobabel or to the expected King, would it not be just as reasonable to assert peculiar honour on his account, if not to *Ur of the Chaldees*, the birth-place of the Father of the faithful, yet certainly to Abraham's fixed residence *Hebron*, the birthplace of Isaac and Jacob and Phares and Hesron (Judah being born at Padan Aram, and his three descendants after Hesron in Egypt), or to *Jerusalem*, where Solomon with his series of kings, and Nathan's collateral line of princely ancestors, were born? For all these places could name ancestors more numerous—and (if David have his part in the honour of Jerusalem) more distinguished also—than *Bethlehem*; the last (Jerusalem) being also far less remote. What is the meaning of special additional honour to the neglected Bethlehem, if the only local ground of that honour subsisted equally before? It is surely requisite that in this, as in other particulars not more directly stated in the same prophecy, the fortune of David, who was born at Bethlehem, and called thence from the sheepfolds to be the shepherd of his people Israel, should be repeated in his greater Son.

History presents us with other examples of great kings and founders of dynasties born at inconsiderable places, which have continued insignificant notwithstanding; e.g. Falaise, little among the towns and cities of Normandy, though William the Conqueror was born there. But can an instance be named of these places losing their insignificance, for no other reason than that a remote descendant, born elsewhere (whether in the metropolis of that founder's kingdom, or in another less known town), had exceeded the glories of his ancestor, and thus conferred honour on that ancestor's humble birthplace? This question may merit the special attention of those who acknowledge only human authorship in the prophecy.

⁸⁹ A comparison of the glosses of Aben Ezra, Kimchi and Abarbanel with the sentiment of the older Hebrews on this topic (as evinced not only historically in Matt. ii. 4, 5, 6, and John vii. 41, 42, but in the documents preserved by the Jews themselves, in Jonathan and even Jarchi), sufficiently evinces this motive of their criticism. See notes 82, 83, 85 *sup.*

sider the citation of Jeremiah's prophecy, concerning Rachel deploring her lost children, as referring to the infant-massacre in the environs of Bethlehem⁹⁰. There can be little doubt of the occasion and immediate reference of that prophecy being that which the modern critics allege, as does the ancient Targum; viz. the assemblage at Ramah of Benjamin, by the captain of the Chaldaean guard, of the unfortunate captives whom he was carrying away from their country to Babylon⁹¹: while bitter tears for her children thus lost are poetically ascribed to Rachel the mother of Benjamin, who had died in labour of that youngest patriarch of Israel, while journeying with Jacob from Bethel through Ramah to Bethlehem Ephratah, and whose tomb was conspicuous in the close vicinity of the last-named place, not far from the border of his tribe⁹². It is true also

⁹⁰ Strauss's remark on this (which in him, as in the order of the Evangelist, comes after the notice of Hosea's prophecy and the call from Egypt) is as follows: "Auch hiezu wird wieder eine Prophetenstelle (Jerem. xxxi. 15), als eine durch diesen Kindermord erfüllte Weissagung, angeführt (Matt. ii. 17, 18), welche sich ursprüngliche auf etwas ganz Anderes, nämlich die Wegführung der Judäer nach Babylon, bezog, und in welcher an etwas in ferner Zukunft Liegendes auf keine Weise gedacht war." I. 292.

⁹¹ Compare with Jer. xxxi. 15 seq. the history in xl. 1. And this is expressed in Jonathan's Targum or paraphrase of the prophetic passage, which I will give side by side with the Hebrew text, distinguishing its additions by Italics in the English translation, as in note 83 *sup*.

CHALD.	HEB.
כרנ אמר יי	כה אמר יהוה
קלא ברום עלמא אשתמע	קול ברמה נשמע
בית ישראל דבכנ ומתאנחנ	
בתר ירמיה נביא כד שלח יתיה	
נבזוראדן רב קטוליא מרמתא	
אליא ודבכנ במרר	נהי בבי תמרורים
ירושלם מבכיא על בנהא	רחל מבכה על בניה
מסרבא לאתנחמא על בנהא	מאנה להנחם על בניה
ארי גלו	כי איננו

"Thus saith the LORD. A voice was heard in the *high place of the world*, the house of Israel weeping and lamenting after Jeremiah the Prophet, when Nebuzardan captain of the guard of victors sent him from Ramah; lamentation and weeping with bitterness; Jerusalem weeping for her children; refusing to be comforted for her children; because they were carried away captive." Here we see that though *Ramah* רמָה is in its place rendered not as a proper name, as in the Syriac and LXX versions, but as a *high place*, like the Vulgate ("Vox in excelso audita est lamentationis, luctus, et fletus; Rachel plorantis filios suos, et nolentis consolari super eis, quia non sunt:")—yet the proper name of Ramah is afterwards introduced in the true citation of the history from ch. xl. 1: while *Rachel* in the prophetic text is considered as mystically denoting the desolated Jerusalem.

⁹² Gen. xxxv. 17—20; xlviii. 7, and 1 Sam. x. 2, indicate the position of

that the consolation offered to her on account of her children's exile, *ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ (בִּי אֶינִי)* is, that they shall "come again from the land of the enemy," and be "restored to their own border:" a promise connected apparently in the after verses, with similar hopes respecting her first-born Joseph, the father of Ephraim; whose previous more hopeless captivity should be terminated at some future time by his sharing with his brother Benjamin the blessings of restored Judah⁹³.

Shall we then call this an *application* or *accommodation* of the Old Testament passage to things beyond its immediate visible occasion? There would be no need to scruple the term, if it were not meant to imply that this accommodation was arbitrary on the part of the Evangelist, or that the mind of the Spirit that spoke by Jeremiah does not most fully include this application. But thus meant, we are concerned to repudiate the proposition; and to appeal to the ample range of the prophecy itself as forbidding this restriction of its import. Since the restoration enlarged on from the 16th to the 26th verses has circumstances in it never realized at the return from Babylon; since in the 31st and following verses it stretches onward to a new covenant made with Israel and Judah, which should supersede even the Mosaic covenant of old,—a covenant that was to confer internal righteousness and the forgiveness of sins, and such as none claimed to establish with the nation, beside Him whose wonderful birth is understood to be implied

Rachel's tomb (of which a modern representative is shewn even to this day) with respect to *Bethlehem Ephratah* of Judah, to *Bethel* and *Gibeah* (of Saul) in Benjamin, and the *border* of the two tribes: while the relative positions of all these towns with respect to each other, to *Jerusalem* (then *Jebusite*), and to *Ramah* of Benjamin, are indicated in *Judg.* iv. 5; xix. 2, 9, 10, 13; *Joshua* xviii. 25; 1 *Sam.* xix. 18, 19. St Jerome; "RAMA quæ est juxta *Gabaa*, in septimo lapide ab Hierosolymis sita." This is of moment in the conception of the prophecy and of its application.

⁹³ Compare *Jer.* xxxi. (which in the arrangement of the LXX. is ch. xxxviii.) 15, 16, 17, and the whole of the following passage concerning Ephraim down to vv. 21, 22, 23, with the very accurate citation of the 15th verse in *Matt.* ii. 18.

The mass of Christian as well as Jewish interpreters expound this prophecy as primarily respecting the Chaldean captivity, though involving higher and more remote events in its after development. There are however some, as Nicolaus de Lyra, Cornelius a Lapide, Vatablus, and Junius, who contend that Jeremiah's sole object was to point the attention of the Jews of his time to the infant-massacre and its lamentation following, as the appointed sign of the coming kingdom of grace, which he announces in the subsequent parts of the chapter. (See Spanheim, *Dub. Er.* Tom. II. p. 582 seq.) But the immediate context and the terms of vv. 16, 17 have suggested to the far greater number an interpretation more consonant to the prophetic method: of which we have a specimen in the *Expositio Aurea* in the next note but one, p. 327.

in the 22d verse⁹⁴; we think it most reasonable to believe that the distress of the 15th verse is not necessarily confined to the case of these deported captives of Benjamin, among whom the prophet of Anathoth had lived. And as the coming of the Great Deliverer is the principal end to which all prophecy is directed,—the only procuring cause of those ampler blessings with the hope of which Jeremiah is throughout sustaining his suffering countrymen, the people of God,—we hold that the afflictions which more immediately preceded Christ's mediation and its results, those especially by which His first manifestation to mankind was signalized, lay entirely within the scope of the Divine Spirit in inditing these consolations. Rachel was not more stirred from her grave, near Bethlehem Ephrata, by the tearing of her children from their natal soil in the distant days of Jeremiah, than by the calamity which, at an age not much more distant, filled with sharper anguish all the mothers of Benjamin and of Judah in the immediate neighbourhood of her tomb: and the comfort for the earlier sorrow which, as representing the mother of Israel, she receives from the prophet, in the assurance that her children now lost should return to her bosom, (a promise *personally* fulfilled but to few, if any, of those exiles,) is applicable in a higher sense to the represen-

⁹⁴ D. Thomas Aquinas in Jer. xxxi. (21, 22, 23). "*Revertere: usquequo dissolveris, filia vaga?* Hoc dicitur quantum ad illos qui absorpti delictis Chaldaeorum in terram promissionis reverti volebant: qui recte propter molliem mulieres vocantur supra (*tu autem fornicata es cum amatoribus multis; tamen revertere ad me, dicit Dominus*, c. iii. 1). Secundo ponitur revocationis ratio ex CHRISTI incarnatione, quæ omnes inducere debet ut a delictis recedant. *Quia creavit; quia, sola divina virtute agente, conceptio illa facta est. Fœmina, propter fragilis sexus conditionem, circumdedit in utero suo virum CHRISTUM, ab initio conceptionis suæ perfectum in scientia et gratia. Unde ad terram in qua novum hoc evenire debet debetis properare.* (Eph. iv. 24, *Induite novum hominem qui secundum Deum vocatus est in justitia et sanctitate veritatis.* Zach. vi. 12, *Ecce Vir, Oriens nomen ejus, et ædificabit templum Domino.*)" To this view of Jer. xxxi. 22, in relation to the return from Babel to the mountain of God's holiness in vv. 21, 23, we may add the citation of it in the same *Expos. Aurea* in Es. vii. 14: "*Nomen ejus EMANUEL, quod et interpretatur, Nobiscum Deus, Matt. i....Et hoc totum nullum simile habet in aliis, quia novum est: Hieremias xxxi. Creavit Deus novum super terram: mulier, vel fœmina, circumdabit virum.*" There is a signal consent of antiquity in understanding this verse of our present prophecy as Thomas thus twice expounds it, viz. of the miraculous conception. Though Calvin says he approves not this interpretation, and Grotius and Junius put it aside, and Blayney rejects it, it is not so treated universally by Protestants: Zuingle, Bugenhagen, and Ecolampadius, adhere to it; and the learned Lutheran commentator, Abraham Calovius, ably defends it. The circumstance that the miraculous conception was at Nazareth, in the territory of the ten tribes, while the parturition was in the close vicinity of Rachel's tomb not far from Ramah, connects this mystery on the one hand with the expostulation to outcast *Ephraim* in vv. 18—21 just before, and on the other with the case of *Benjamin* that preceded in vv. 15—17.

tative mother with respect to children taken out of this world by tyrannic power, but for whom a redemption from death and the grave, a return from worse chains than those of Babylon, had been purchased by the Saviour on whose account they died⁹⁵. By the *exegesis* which recognizes nothing beyond human authorship in the consignation of these Divine oracles, such inclusion of remote particulars under the same category will be pronounced uncritical, or even absurd. But it will not, I trust, so appear to those who reverently mark the progress of the Divine œconomy, and the development of the mystery of redemption. There are other matters necessary to the right understanding of sacred prophecies beside the bare rules (which no sane man despises) of grammatical interpretation.

The other not dissimilar instance, in which the objection of Strauss and of Ant. Collins was urged of old by the Emperor Julian against the Evangelist, is his citation of Hosea concerning God calling his son Israel out of Egypt, as verified by the return of the infant Jesus from his exile there on Herod's death⁹⁶. There is no need to refer to Num. xxiv. 8, which

⁹⁵ It is through the image of *captivity and return*, that that great idea, the final object of all prophecy, is here reached. In the above-cited commentary of the great schoolman, he supposes that Jeremiah may have respect even to the Roman captivity that followed the Bethlehemitic massacre, as continuing to excite Rachel's tears from her grave at Ephrata by circumstances resembling those of his contemporaries at Ramah. "Inducit matris fletum, Rachel quæ fuit mater Joseph plorantis destructionem filiorum suorum. Figurative loquitur: sed hoc dicitur hyperbolice, in parentes mortuos tristitiam redundare de filiorum adversitate: vel quia in Romana captivitate juxta sepulchrum Rachelis Judæi capti ducti sunt et venundati; vel quia figurative dicitur plorare pueros juxta se occisos, cum ipsa juxta Bethleem sepulta sit, sicut habetur Gen. xxxv." D. Thomæ *Expositio Aurea in Jerem.* xxxi. (v. 16). This idea of the selling of the prostrate Jews at Rachel's tomb by the victorious legions of Titus is a current one among the Talmudists, and by them applied, as by Thomas, to the explication of the present prophecy. So the *Bereshit Rabba* as quoted by Voisin in *Pug. Fid.* p. 155: מה ראה אבינו יעקב לקבור את רחל בדרך אפרת אלא צפה אבינו יעקב שהגלויות עתידות לעבור שם לפי קברה שם כדי שתהא מבקשת עליהם רחמים הלא היא דכתיב קול ברמה וגו' "What was the intent of our father Jacob when he buried Rachel in the way of Ephrata? Because our father Jacob foresaw that the captive posterities were about to pass that way: therefore he buried her there that she might entreat the Divine mercies for them. And this is what is written, *A voice was heard in Ramah, &c.*" Also in the *Zohar* on Gen. xxxv. 20, it is said that Rachel's tomb was fixed there, in order that the Jews on their return from captivity might pray for her soul, as she for them when they were carried away. See Schoettgen, *Horeb Heb.* Tom. II. p. 498.

⁹⁶ Matt. ii. 15: ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ρηθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος "Εξ Αιγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου."

The following is the original passage thus quoted, Hosea xi. 1, with its principal versions; the first two of which, the Targum of Jonathan and the LXX, vary from the above and from the original by giving *sons* in the plural.

several ancients, in consequence apparently of the LXX version exhibiting the passage of Hosea differently, have supposed to be the place cited: for St Matthew quotes that Prophet truly according to the Hebrew original. And even if the improbable supposition were admitted, that Balaam and not Hosea was the prophet thus appealed to, the question now before us of the legitimacy of application will remain precisely the same⁹⁷. Still less need we refer to other places in the prophetic books of the Old Testament; which, purely to evade the difficulty of that question, some moderns have severally assumed, with no ade-

CHALD.	HEB.
ארי רבי הוה ישראל ורחמיה וממצרים קריתי להון בנין	כי נער ישראל ואהבהו וממצרים קראתי לבני
LXX. "Ὅτι νῆπιος Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἐγὼ ἡγάπησα αὐτὸν, καὶ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ.	
AQUILA. "Ὅτι παῖς Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἡγάπησα αὐτόν, καὶ ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου.	
VULG. Quia puer Israel, et dilexi eum, et ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum.	

⁹⁷ D. Hieronym. in *Matth.* c. II. "*Ut adimpleatur quod dictum est a Domino per Prophetam dicentem; EX ÆGYPTO VOCAVI FILIUM MEUM.* Respondeant qui Hebræorum voluminum denegant veritatem, ubi hoc in Septuaginta legatur Interpretibus? Quod cum non invenerint, nos eis dicimus in Osee Propheta scriptum; sicut et exemplaria probare possunt quæ nuper edidimus. Possumus autem locum istum et aliter conciliare propter contentiosos, quorum consuetudinem Paulus Apostolus (1 Cor. xi. 16) habere se denegat et ecclesiam Christi, et testimonium proferre ex Numeris, dicente Balaam, DEUS EX ÆGYPTO VOCAVIT EUM: GLORIA EJUS SICUT UNICORNIS."

These contentious admirers of the LXX, who would take no other version of Osee than the old Italic one made from the Greek, "*Quia parrulus Israel et ego dilexi eum, et ex Ægypto vocavi eos*" (instead of *filios ejus*), and who therefore required to be referred to Num. xxiv. 8, are somewhat graphically described by the same Jerome, whose Hebrew labours provoked their vehement opposition, in his commentary on the corresponding place of the Prophet: (in which he denies that Balaam's prophecy, or any other than Hosea's, can be intended). "*Pro eo quod nos diximus, Ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum, LXX transtulerunt Ex Ægypto vocavi filios ejus, quod in Hebræo non habetur: nullique dubium est, Matthæum de hoc loco summissee testimonium juxta Hebraicam veritatem. Ergo qui detrahunt nostræ translationi videant Scripturam de qua Evangelista hoc testimonium sumserit, et interpretatus est de Domino Salvatore, quando de Ægypto reductus est in terram Israel: et cum invenire non quiverint, desinant rugare frontem, adducere supercilium, crispare nares, digitis conprepare."* (!) A curious specimen of the manner in which questions of Biblical criticism were discussed by many in that age! D. Hieron. *Opp.* Tom. VI. p. 123, et VII. p. 15.

In the *Eclogæ Propheticae* of Eusebius, recently published by Dean Gaisford, Oxon. 1842, the prophecy of Balaam, Num. xxiv. 8, is referred to in pp. 46, 47, 48, as fulfilled in our Lord's going into Egypt and returning thence like his progenitor, and as cited by St Matthew as well as the later prophecy, *πληρουμένης τῆς τε νῦν καὶ τῆς ἐν Ὁσέῃ κατὰ τὸ Ἑβραϊκὸν καὶ τὴν Ἀκούλου ἐρμηνείαν προφητείας φασκοῦσης*, "*Ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα ΤΟΝ ΤΙΟΝ ΜΟΥ.*" And this prophecy of Osee is accordingly discussed by him largely with that view in its place, p. 112 seq.

quate warrant from identity either of words or sense, to be the place here meant⁹⁸.

To meet the difficulty of this citation we make two leading observations. (1) That the *νιοθεσία*, or adoption of Israel as the son of God above all other families of the earth, has in the Abrahamic promise, the original charter of the nation, a special reference to the One Seed, which is Christ⁹⁹. (2) That it is in the Exodus from Egypt that we find the first authoritative designation of Israel in this character of the "first-born of God." Thus by Divine prescription is it announced to Pharaoh as the reason why the people should be suffered to depart for His service, and why, if this were refused, the life of the oppressor's first-born should be exacted as a penalty¹⁰⁰. Thus again is it expressed in type to the adopted race themselves, when as the prescribed consequence of the great redemption which had rescued them from the fate of the Egyptian first-born, and procured their exit from the house of bondage, it was ordained that every male that openeth the womb, every first-born of man and beast, should be counted specially holy to the LORD¹⁰¹. And while the Paschal solemnity and other legal institutions kept perpetually before the adopted seed the wondrous call of God's first-born Israel out of Egypt, the prophets, with ever-increasing distinctness, reminded them of the original promise; declaring also that the days of the coming seed of Abraham should be signalized by a redemption and a covenant of life, of which the blessings and the covenant of the earlier deliverance contained but the inferior shadow¹⁰². As it is then a principle of Christian theology, that the fathers of Israel in their Exodus through the opening waters, the Angel of the Divine Presence preceding and encompassing them, bore the image of the whole Church under Christ the

⁹⁸ Thus Whiston would allege Isaiah xli. 8, 9, and even alter the text to suit the Evangelic citation: Jac. Alting, with less presumption, but not more truth, Jer. xxxi. 9; of which he imagines the sense, though not the words, to be cited by St Matthew. But the terms τὸ ῥηθὲν διὰ τοῦ προφήτου, λέγοντος—no δτι intervening between this and the prophetic sentence referred to,—can mean assuredly no less than a strictly literal citation, such as we have here of Hosea. (See Deyling, *Obs. Sacrae*, Tom. iv. p. 769.)

⁹⁹ So reasons St Paul, Gal. iii. 16, and again ch. iv. &c. &c.

¹⁰⁰ Exod. iv. 22, 23. "Thus saith the LORD, *Israel is MY SON, even my FIRST-BORN*. And I say unto thee, *Let MY SON go that he may serve me: and if thou refuse to let him go, behold, I will slay THY SON, even THY FIRST-BORN*."

¹⁰¹ Exod. xii. 12, 13, 14, 29, 31; xiii. 2, 3; xxii. 29; xxxiv. 18, 19, 20. Num. iii. 12, 13; viii. 16, 17, 18. Luke ii. 22, 23.

¹⁰² Ps. lxxviii; Jer. xxxi. 31—34. Ezek. xx. 5—41. Haggai ii. 5—9, &c.

Head in its passage from the world of sin and death to immortality,—and as it is the previous passage of the Incarnate Son that ensures that of his mystical body, collectively and individually,—we have in this consideration a guide to the present use of Hosea's prophecy. It pleased the Father, in preparing that work of mediation which should bring many sons to glory, that the Captain of their Salvation, the Only-begotten Son, should be led in his earliest years *literally* to Egypt: that he should there sojourn, while his life was threatened in Palestine, and thence go forth when the time arrived for resuming in Israel his nurture under the Law for man's redemption: even as it had been ordered of old that the infant Israel should be led thither “to preserve life” from the famine that ravaged Canaan, and thence depart in the newly-formed character of a *nation* divinely governed, to keep the LORD'S statutes in the good land of promise, and to be his witnesses in the world till the day of the actual redemption¹⁰³. The prophecy which tells immediately on the earlier event is therefore applicable, in the larger mind of the Spirit, to the later one. The same love to the ungrateful people commemorated in Hosea in that chapter, which was manifested in calling forth the representative first-born to be the model of nations, received a far grander and more perfect development, when He for whose sake alone Israel was made a peculiar people, the *only* Son of God, went forth from his exile to run his course of immaculate righteousness; thus to hasten that

¹⁰³ Compare Matt. ii. 13—21, with Gen. xlv. 5—11; xlv. 2, 3, 4; l. 20, 24; Exod. xii. xiii. xiv. xv.

The catholic interpretation of the citation of Hosea by St Matthew makes Israel and the promised Seed to stand in the place of type and antitype, the latter the full development of what the other was in germ; *ῥητῶς*, as Eusebius says, when Joseph in this instance brought the infant Jesus from the literal Egypt, *κατὰ δίδουσαν δὲ, ὀπηρῖκα ἐκ τῆς νοητῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῶν τῆδε τόπων ἐπὶ τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἀμα λαμβάνων αὐτὸν ὁ Πατὴρ ὠδήγησεν*. *Eclog. Prophet.* pp. 47, 48, ed. Gaisford.

But another interpretation has been ingeniously devised, which, instead of thus assimilating Israel as the representative first-born to the only-begotten Son, *contrasts* him. This is done by giving the conjunction *וְ* in Hosea the force of *although*: and interpreting *וְעַל* to mean not simply *παῖς* or *νήπιος*, as the ancients took it; but either *weak* and *imprudent*, with Andrew Rivet, or, with Deyling, *petulant* and *stubborn*. Thus the sense of Hos. xi. 1, will be: “Although Israel was an impotent and wayward child, yet I loved him: and (in order to effect my purposes of mercy towards him) I brought my Son (i.e. my only Son Jesus Christ, his Redeemer and the Redeemer of all) out of Egypt.” But who does not see that this is too elaborate a meaning to consist with the structure of this sentence; and that to make this not an identification, but a distinction and separation of the *וְעַל* and the *וְיָ* in the two parallel clauses, is unhebraic and inadmissible?

further consummation which this prophet declares, the spoiling of death and Hades¹⁰⁴, and destruction of the empire of idolatry and sin in the world.

It is not to the conviction of unbelievers that these considerations are directed. Those by whom the credentials of inspiration are disregarded will naturally view this characteristic method of the Divine oracles with contempt, and even as a justification of their previous incredulity. The place which these considerations hold in the argument with objectors like Strauss is this only; to prove that they are simply begging the question, when they treat the prophecies as merely human writings, and, applying the rules of criticism not only to the language of the document, where they are truly applicable, but to the supposed mind of the writer as the sole measure of its import, they denounce every application as false and gratuitous, when it lies beyond the primary or immediate occasion. There is doubtless a difference among Christians as to the readiness to expect or to admit applications of this nature: but as there is no true Christian who does not receive them without question when the Spirit of God in the New Testament has given this index to the fulness of His meaning in the Old, so is there none who, with the very largest idea of the warrant thus given to the general principle, as extending far beyond those particular instances, will esteem himself justified in merely consulting his individual fancy for its pursuit in detail. Now it was not to Gentiles, unacquainted with the ancient Prophets, as the apostate Emperor¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Hos. xiii. 14, quoted by St Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 55.

¹⁰⁵ Hieronymus in *Osee* xii. "Hunc locum in septimo volumine Julianus Augustus quod adversum nos, id est, Christianos evomit, calumniatur, et dicit: *Quod de Israel scriptum est, Matthæus Evangelista ad Christum transtulit, ut simplicitati eorum qui de Gentibus crediderunt, illuderet.* Cui nos breviter respondemus: primum Matthæum Evangelium Hebræis literis edidisse, quod non poterant legere nisi hi qui ex Hebræis erant. Ergo non propterea fecit ut illuderet Ethnicis. Sin autem Hebræis illudere voluit, aut stultus aut imperitus fuit; stultus, si apertum finxit mendacium; imperitus, si non intellexit de quo hæc dicerentur. Stultitiam ipsum volumen excusat, quod prudenter ordinateque compositum est: imperitum non possumus dicere, quem ex aliis testimoniis Scripturarum scientiam Legis habuisse cognoscimus. Superest ut illud dicamus, quod ea quæ *ῥηκῶς* præcedunt in aliis, juxta veritatem et adimplerionem referantur ad Christum: quod Apostolum in duobus montibus Sina et Sion, et in Sara et Agar, fecisse cognovimus. (Gal. iv. 24.) Neque enim non est Sina mons et non est Sion; non fuit Sara et non fuit Agar; quia hæc Apostolus Paulus ad duo retulit testamenta. Sic igitur hoc quod scriptum est, *Parvulus Israel, et dilexi eum; et ex Ægypto vocavi filium meum*, dicitur quidem de populo Israel qui vocatur ex Ægypto, qui diligitur, qui eo tempore post errorem idololatriæ quasi infans et parvulus est vocatus; sed perfecte refertur ad Christum." *Comment. in Osee*, Lib. III. cap. 10; Hieronymi *Opp.* Tom. VI. pp. 123—4. *ed. Vallars.*

pretended, that St Matthew addressed this alleged misquotation, but to Hebrew Christians well versed in them; and who, while they could not easily be misled into the belief that what was said of Israel was not meant of them at all, but of the Christ only, were as little disposed to view with suspicion the interpretation that included both, and made the latter the full complement of the former. That disposition, whether seen in Greek sophists, in the school of Theodore of Mopsuestia among ancient Christians, or in recent schools whether Calvinistic or rationalistic among ourselves, was the result of an intellectual training widely different from theirs. To them it would be not merely a pious comparison, but an actual confirmation of their faith in Jesus as the Christ, to observe how in this instance He answered the type of God's first-born Israel of old; to observe that, as the infancy of the Israelitic nation was cradled in that idolatrous region to which hard necessity had induced their migration, so it was with the promised seed, the hope and Saviour of all the rest; and that the place of the patriarch Joseph, as preceding,

To the same effect reasons Chrysostom in his 8th Homily on St Matthew, though his method and illustrations differ, being directed, not against the infidel Cæsar, but Jewish objectors: *Εἰ δὲ περὶ τῆς προφητείας ἀμφιβάλλοιεν Ἰουδαῖοι λέγοντες, τὸ “ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐκάλεσα τὸν υἱόν μου” ἐπ’ αὐτῶν εἰρησθαι, εἰποιμεν ἂν πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ὅτι καὶ οὗτος προφητείας νόμος, τὸ πολλὰ πολλάκις λέγεσθαι μὲν ἐπ’ ἄλλων, πληροῦσθαι δὲ ἐφ’ ἑτέρων, ὅσον τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Συμεὼν καὶ Λευὶ εἰρημένον ἐστὶ: “διαμεριῶ γὰρ αὐτοὺς, φησὶν, ἐν Ἰακώβ καὶ διασπερῶ αὐτοὺς ἐν Ἰσραὴλ.” καίτοιγε οὐκ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν τοῦτο γέγονεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων. καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Χαναὰν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ Νῶε λεχθὲν, εἰς τοὺς Γαβριήλ τοὺς ἐκγόνους τοῦ Χαναὰν ἐξέβη· καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβ οὕτως ἴδοι τις ἂν συμβάν. αἱ γὰρ εὐλογίαι ἐκεῖναι αἱ λέγουσαι, “γίνου κύριος τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, καὶ προσκυνήσάτωσαν σε οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ πατρὸς σου,” οὐκ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τέλος ἔσχον (πῶς γὰρ, τοῦ δεδοκίματος καὶ τρέμοντος, καὶ μυριάκις αὐτῷ προσκυνούντος;) ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων τῶν αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα εἰποι τις ἂν. τίς γὰρ ἀληθέστερον υἱὸς Θεοῦ λεχθεῖν; ὁ μόσχῳ προσκυνῶν, καὶ τῷ Βεελφεγῶρ τελούμενος, καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς θύων τοῖς δαιμονίοις; ἢ ὁ φύσει υἱὸς, καὶ τὸν γεγεννηκότα τιμῶν; ὥστε εἰ μὴ παρεγένετο οὗτος, οὐκ ἂν ἡ προφητεία τέλος ἔλαβε τὸ προσήκον. (S. Chrys. in Matt. Hom. viii.) These truly Christian hermeneutics of Chrysostom are strongly contrasted with the neo-Judaism of his heretical master Theodore of Mopsuestia, who, in his *Commentary on Osee*, recently published from Vatican MSS., treats of this text according to the LXX version *μετεκάλεσα τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ*, without any allusion either to Aquila's correction of this version according to the Hebrew text, or to St Matthew's citation, and expounds it accordingly of the infant Israel, without any reference whatever to Christ. (Theodor. Mopsuest. in *Osee*, cap. xi. in A. Maii *Script. Vett. Nov. Collect.* Tom. VI. p. 39.)*

On the other hand, the historical Eusebius, in his already cited *Eclogæ Propheticae*, p. 112 seq. defends the Evangelist's citation by arguing that Christ is principally intended by the Prophet, because the preceding verse, x. 15, which he quotes in Aquila's literal version from the Hebrew *ἐν ὁρῶν κατασιωπήθη βασιλεὺς Ἰσραὴλ*, (בִּישְׁתַּח נְדָמָה נְדָמָה מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל), then alone received its complete accomplishment, when at the very dawning of Gospel light on the world, the Jewish state and kingdom was finally extinguished by the Romans (the type of the ruthless conqueror Salman or Salmaneser, as adduced in the verse next preceding, having also its fullest realization in the last sacking of Jerusalem).

sustaining and protecting the representative Son in this exile, of which, in the midst of his Egyptian prosperity he still faithfully expected the termination, was supplied with respect to the true First-born, in more than one important particular, by an humbler but yet more divinely honoured Joseph, the spouse of the Virgin Mother¹⁰⁶. There was to these Hebrew believers an ample significancy in the *ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθέν*¹⁰⁷, that little needed the apologetic terms which we in our present times are compelled to put forth for it. For the principle of combining Israel and the Christ did not begin with the actual Gospel; neither, even after that era, was it restricted to the true believers among Jews. It is constantly seen in the Rabbinical schools, and held its place there even after the more rationalizing spirit of Maimonides and the great Rabbies at or since his time had removed many of the old canons of interpretation that had looked too favourably to the Christian cause. Thus in the 80th Psalm, the vine taken out of Egypt, planted by God's right hand and made so strong for Himself, while understood primarily of the people of Israel, was in its fullest import explained of the Anointed Son of David: "*either Israel or the Messiah*" is the exposition of Aben Ezra. And the most ancient and venerated authorities of the Jews connect in this matter that Psalm with the present chapter of Hosea: the Branch, viz. the Son of Man, brought out from Egypt in the former, being plainly identical with the Son of God, thus called, in the latter¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁶ Gen. xlv. 7; Exod. i. 8 (Psalm cv. 17—24; Acts vii. 9—19), compared with Matt. ii. 14, 15.

¹⁰⁷ Not ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου, as we should carefully observe, but ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου, λέγοντος κ.τ.λ.

¹⁰⁸ Ps. lxxx., which in its 15th and 17th verses should be compared with Ps. lxxxix. 21 seq. (relating primarily to David and his royal line, but in its only complete bearing to the Eternal King thence proceeding), begins that strain with the reminiscence of the Exodus; from which the strength of Israel is there deduced, as it is in the prophecy of Balaam, Num. xxiv. 8, 9.

The commentary of Aben Ezra referred to, on the 15th verse of that Psalm, justifying from the mouth of a most unchristian Rabbi the canons of interpretation laid down by Chrysostom and Jerome in note 105 *sup.*, is expressed in these terms

פירש כי הכנה אשר נטע ימינו דרך מישל והנמשל הוא על ישראל או משיח
 "The explication is, that the *Vineyard which His right hand hath planted*, is said allegorically; and the reference of the allegory is either to ISRAEL or to CHRIST." Aben Ezra in *Ps. lxxx.*, apud Voisin *not.* in Raym. Martin. *Pug. Fud.* p. 155, ed. Carpzov. And this should be compared with another citation of Voisin just preceding this, from the *Shemoth Rabba*, expressly identifying the vine brought out of Egypt in the Psalm with the Son brought out thence in Hosea, and alleging the *Midrash* of Rabbi Tanchuma Bar Aba as authority for this.

Perhaps also we may find another Rabbinical testimony, though not quite so explicit as the above, to the Messianic bearing of Hos. xi. 1, in a passage which

We now come to the last citation of prophecy, and in one respect the most difficult of any, because, unlike all the rest, it has no text of the Ancient Scripture in which its terms are literally contained: I mean that concluding verse of the second chapter, where it is said that Joseph, in proceeding to Galilee and fixing the dwelling of the Christ and his mother at Nazareth, fulfilled "what was spoken by the prophets, *that he should be called a Nazarene*," ὅτι Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται. The circumstance that none of the prophets exhibit this proposition ("quod omnes quærent Ecclesiastici, nec tamen inveniunt ubi scriptum est," says Jerome,) induced St Chrysostom, and after him Euthymius and Theophylact, to express their opinion, that the assertion in question belongs to no extant book of the Old Testament, but to some canonical prophecy now lost¹⁰⁹. This supposition,

Schoettgen *in loc.* quotes from the great Cabbalistic book the *Zohar*,—where עֲנִי the term translated *νήπιος* or *παῖς* by the Alexandrines, is connected with the idea of *strength* and *boldness*, and represented as involving in it the mystery of the name of the *Metatron*. (See Appendix E, On the Captain of the Lord's Host in Joshua.)

¹⁰⁹ After remarking from St Luke that Joseph and Mary's journey from Judæa to Nazareth was but the return to their own home which they had left for the census, Chrysostom says: Διὰ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος αὐτοὺς λοιπὸν ἀναπαύων ἀποδίδωσι τῇ οἰκίᾳ· καὶ οὐδὲ τοῦτο ἀπλῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸ μετὰ προφητείας· "ἵνα πληρωθῇ" γὰρ, φησί, "τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ τῶν προφητῶν ὅτι Ναζωραῖος κληθήσεται." (We may observe the inexactness of a memorial citation in this *ἵνα* for ὅπως, and ὑπὸ for διὰ.) Καὶ ποῖος προφήτης τοῦτο εἶπε; Μὴ περιεργάζου, μηδὲ πολυπραγμονεῖ. Πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν προφητικῶν ἠφάνισται βιβλίων· καὶ ταῦτα ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας τῶν Παραλειπομένων ἴδου τις ἂν. Ῥάθυμοι γὰρ ὄντες, καὶ εἰς ἀσέβειαν συνεχῶς ἐμπίπτοντες, τὰ μὲν ἠφίσσαν ἀπώλυσθαι, τὰ δὲ αὐτοὶ κατέκαιον καὶ κατέκοπτον. Καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἱερεμίας δηγείται, τὸ δὲ ὁ τὴν τετάρτην συντιθεὶς τῶν Βασιλειῶν, λέγων μετὰ πολλὴν χρόνον μόνις τὸ Δευτερονόμιον εὐρήσθαι κατορυγμένον· πού καὶ ἠφανισμένον. Εἰ δὲ οὐκ ὁυτος βαρβάρου οὕτω τὰ βιβλία προῦδωκαν, πολλὰ μᾶλλον τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπελθόντων. (*Hom. ix. in Matt. Tom. i. p. 117. ed. Cantab.*) This opinion, with its grounds from the lost books quoted in the Chronicles, the finding of the sacred volume of the law in Josiah's reign, and the negligence of the Jews even before the irruption of the Chaldean barbarians, is thus compendiously exhibited by Euthymius Zigabenus *in Matt. ii. 23*:—"What prophets have said this? Seek not, for you will not find: since many of the prophetic books have been lost; some in the captivities, others through the Jews' neglect, others through their malice." (Καὶ ποῖοι προφῆται τοῦτο εἶπον; μὴ ζητήσης, οὐχ εὐρήσεις γάρ· διότι πολλὰ τῶν προφητικῶν βιβλίων ἀπώλοντο, τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς αἰχμαλωσίαις, τὰ δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἀμελείας τῶν Ἑβραίων, τινὰ δὲ καὶ ἐκ κακουρίας.) That ungrateful contempt or abuse of the Scriptures should be punished with the loss that in the way of natural consequence might flow from it, even to the whole existing Church of God, is a process too consistent with the ordinary course of Divine judgment to admit of the supposition being refuted on the mere ground of antecedent improbability; which has been attempted by some advocates of the inamissibility of the inspired Word, against this opinion of Chrysostom and his Greek followers. But, notwithstanding this and the more solid arguments that can be produced against this opinion, it has found several defenders among Protestants, as Musculus, Olearius, Wolfius (*Curæ Theologicæ, in V. et N. T.*), and Whiston. Calovius even inclined to the opinion that the use of the word ῥηθὲν, *spoken*, rather than *written*, in this citation, implies a merely oral prophecy that was never in the Canon: an opinion which Deyling (*Obs. Sac. i. 197*) thinks worse than the other. Better arguments, however, than the advantage

though its zealous modern opponents have not succeeded on any *a priori* grounds in proving it either impossible, or unworthy of the Almighty to permit, is however one which nothing short of necessity should lead us to adopt, even with such respected authority preceding us: when we consider the great internal improbability of such a loss, at least after the return of the Jews from Babylon; and the strong positive evidence we possess that what books were in the canon of the Old Testament in the time of St Matthew and the rest of the Apostles are no other than what we have at present.

No such necessity can be justly pleaded here. The circumstance that this prophetic assertion is not quoted like all the rest, as spoken "by the *prophet*," but "by the *prophets*," is sufficient to indicate that it is not in any particular passage of those sacred writings, but in the concurrent sense of several, that we may find the proposition which was verified by our Lord's proceeding to Nazareth; viz. either the direct proposition that he should be known as an inhabitant of that Galilæan town, or that some name or title which belonged to Him as the Christ should be secured to Him by that habitation. Now on this subject there is a remarkable accordance of those who were most likely both to know what was the Scripture intended, and to appreciate the force of the application; I mean the early Hebrew believers. They found the cited proposition in those places of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Zechariah, as well as the Psalms, which announced the Messiah as the future flourishing Branch of the stock of David, but most particularly in that of Is. xi. 1, where this Branch is termed נָצֵר [*Neser*], the word from which the name of the city Nazareth נֶצְרֶת is derived. The predominance of this opinion among the *eruditi Hebræorum*¹¹⁰, as S. Jerome

which would be afforded to Roman pretences by the admission, are produced by him, by Spanheim, and, above all, by Casaubon, *Exercit.* vii. num. 2, to shew the actual care that the Hebrews took of their Canon, and that St Matthew here appeals to our existent Old Testament scriptures.

¹¹⁰ Hieronymus in *Es.* xi. 1: "Illud quod in Evangelio Matthæi omnes quæ-runt Ecclesiastici nec tamen inveniunt ubi scriptum sit, *Quoniam Nazareus vocabitur*, eruditi Hebræorum de hoc loco assumptum putant. Sed sciendum, quod hic NESER (נָצֵר) per saule (שׁ) literam scribitur, cujus proprietatem et sonum inter z et s Latinus serino non exprimit: est enim stridulus, et strictis dentibus vix lingue impressione præfertur: ex qua etiam Sion urbs scribitur. Porro Nazareæ quos LXX sanctificatos, Symmachus separatos transtulerunt, per zain (ז) semper scribitur elementum. Super hunc igitur florem, qui de trunco et radice Jesse per Mariam Virginem repente consurgit, requiescet Spiritus Domini: quia in ipso complacuit omnem plenitudinem divinitatis habitare corporaliter (Coloss. ii. 9), nequam per partes, ut in cæteris sanctis: sed juxta Evangelium quod Hebræo ser-

calls them, is attested as matter of fact not only by their brethren in the faith, but by their bitter enemies, the unbelieving Jews; who state this prophecy of Isaiah's eleventh chapter to have been in the Christians' opinion fulfilled in the Nazarene as such. For these men, while assailing zealously the truth of its fulfilment in our Lord, and contending for its verification in a yet future Christ, do not ordinarily insert, amidst their reasons, that Jesus was called נוצרי for another cause than this, viz. from the known fact of his coming from Nazareth: while in the virulence with which they conduct the argument they show their sense of the importance of this allegation to the Christian cause¹¹¹.

mone conscriptum legunt Nazareni: *descendit super eum omnis fons Spiritus Sancti.*" (D. Hieron. *Opp.* Tom. IV. p. 155). An important part of this passage refers to another interpretation, to be noticed hereafter.

In the Epistle of Jerome's two friends, the holy widow Paula and her daughter Eustochium, to Marcella, inviting her to come from Rome to them at Bethlehem, and join them in a pilgrimage to Palestine, the *Galilean* circuit is thus introduced: "Ibimus ad Nazareth: et juxta interpretationem nominis ejus, FLOREM videbimus Galilææ. Haud procul inde cernetur Cana, &c. &c." (*Epistola xlvii. in D. Hieron. Opp.* Tom. I. p. 207.)

This interpretation of Nazareth, as containing the "*florem Galilææ*," i.e. the נצר, or budding Branch, of the root of Jesse, has descended from the ancient Hebrew Church to be that of the Western Church generally. Beside the chief ecclesiastical commentators from St Jerome to Alphonsus Tostatus, it has the greatest names of modern criticism in its favour. Casaubon is here agreed with Baronius, the object of his generally unsparing criticism. The interpretation is illustrated and defended severally by Osiander, Bullinger, Paræus, Lud. de Dieu, Schindler, Surenhusius, Jac. Alting, Deyling, and many others: as it is also by our Bishop Kidder, in his *Demonstration of the Messias*.

¹¹¹ Rabbi Lipman, a most bitter enemy of Christianity (as is proved by his blasphemous work, the *Nissachon*, published in Wagenseil's *Tela Ignea Satanae*), thus writes in a commentary on Isaiah xi. 1, the passage on which we have just

heard the testimony of St Jerome. נם בזה בשלו הנוצרים ודרשו על הנוצרי באמרם שממשפחת דוד בא והביאו סוף הפרשה לראייה שנ' שורש ישי אשר עומד לנם עמים ומפרשים נם לשון אות ונצר מפרשים מלשון הנוצרי ולפי שתופסים רק אות אחת ופוקרים וממקצת בני עמינו נעלמים הפסוקים הנלוים אצטרך לבארם שכל אותה הפרשה מדברת במלך המשיח ואדרבה מתוכה "In this place also the Nazarenes (or Christians) have stumbled, and expounded it as relating to the Nazarene (Jesus Christ), saying that he came from the family of David: and they adduce as a proof the concluding part of this paragraph (v. 10), where mention is again made of the *root of Jesse*, which shall stand as an *ensign of the Gentile nations*: expounding this ensign or banner to mean an attesting sign*, and the Branch NESER to mean the Nazarene. But inasmuch as they handle one sign, and that perversely, and as by a portion of our people these verses, though clear in themselves, are not understood, I deem it necessary to explain that the whole of this paragraph (of Isaiah) is indeed spoken of the King Messiah: but I shall on the contrary evince from the

* This accusation of the Christians, as misinterpreting *ensign* *vexillum*, probably arises from Lipman himself not understanding the ambiguous Latin word *signum*, as Mr Oxlee remarks, [*On the Trinity*] p. 344.

Against an interpretation of such well-attested authority it is true that not a few learned men, including some principal leaders of the Protestant Reformation, have sought to revive the opinion confuted by St Jerome¹¹², which the sound rather than the sense suggested to those ancient Christians who were ignorant of the Hebrew language, but were anxious to find a place answering to St Matthew's citation. The opinion I mean is, that the passages referred to are those in the historical books of the Old Testament, where of Samson and of Samuel, supposed types of the Christ, it is said severally that they should be *Nazarites*, i.e. bound by particular vows to God to be unshorn and observe rigid abstemiousness all their lives¹¹³. But

very midst of the passage (so understood) that the Messiah is not come yet." Then, after arguing this on the ground that the grand pacification of v. 6—10 has never been accomplished by our Christ: also that the guidance of the Messiah by the Spirit of God in the 2nd and following verses is inconsistent with our assertion of Him as Very God; that no such ensign was ever displayed by Jesus of Nazareth, much less any such gathering of the exiles of Israel, and drying up the mouths of the Egyptian sea for their passage, as we read of in vv. 10—16, the anti-Christian writer proceeds: "Moreover, these expositors, explaining the Branch NESER to mean the Nazarene, have made a rod for their own backs, seeing that it is afterwards written (xiv. 19): *Thou art cast out of thy grave like an abominable BRANCH (Neser)*: and how will they expound this of their God? Again, I have already made it clear, on the first division of Genesis, ch. viii., that if they choose to maintain that the Nazarene came from the lineage of David, they are then obliged to confess that Joseph was his father." והרי מפרשים פירשו נצר

לשון נוצרי וחבל על עצמם מבסמך שכתוב ואתה השלכת מקברך כנצר נתעב ואיך יפרשו זה על אלהיהם ועוד שכבר פירשתי בפרשת בראשית בסיומן ח' שאם ירצו לאומר שהנוצרי בא ממשפחת דוד צריכים להודות בסימון ח' שיוסף הוא אביו This passage (for the knowledge of which I am indebted to Mr Oxlee's work on the Trinity and Incarnation, Vol. II. pp. 337, 8, where it may be seen at length) is quoted here, not so much for the Jewish mode of reasoning exemplified in it, though that is remarkable on several accounts, as for the testimony borne by the author to the old Christian argument from Is. xi. 1, and his own evident recognition of significancy and cogency in that argument; which he meets only by a reviling application, as irrelevant as it is indecent and impious.

¹¹² Luther (on Numb. vi. 2), Bucer and Calvin; also the learned Spanheim and Grotius; with several inferior names, Heidegger, Gussetius, &c.

It is a remarkable instance of the neglect of all consideration of Christian antiquity in the Dutch exegetical school of the last century, that in a very able dissertation on this citation of St Matthew, by J. G. Altmann (*Meletemata Philologico-Critica*. Traj. ad Rhen. 1753), he not only considers Bucer as the author of this old Nazarite interpretation, but makes Bullinger the first who proposed the opposite and true solution, from נצר the Branch, he himself admitting neither of them. And in p. 4 he quotes with approbation Paræus's argument against the former opinion from the difference of נ and נ', without being in the least aware that St Jerome had said exactly the same thing eleven centuries before, as cited in note 110, *sup.* (p. 335).

¹¹³ Judges xiii. 5, 7; xvi. 17. 1 Sam. i. 11 (compared with Num. vi. 2 *seq.*): which misplaced citations are found in the margins of our Bibles on Matt. ii. 23, agreeing here with Bucer. The passages to which Calvin and Spanheim would rather refer are Gen. xlix. 26; Deut. xxxiii. 16; which are liable to the same objection as the preceding, and to more also.

this exposition will not bear the test, either of critical philology, or divine truth. It is in the first place a great philological solecism to confound the root *Nazar* or *Nadhar* by which religious *vowing* is denoted, of which the middle radical is in Hebrew ז *z*, but in the Aramæan and Arabic respectively נ *d* or ד *dh*, with that from which the name of the Galilæan town is derived, viz. *Nasar* נצר, whose medial letter in all the Semitic dialects is the hard *s*, the *Tsadi* or *Ssad*; whether the original meaning of this root be considered that of *help*, *custody*, or *victory*. Nor is the confusion here justified by the circumstance that the name of this town is the almost solitary instance in which the Greeks and Latins have expressed the last-named letter ז by a ζ instead of σ, (which it otherwise has invariably, in common with the very different soft *s* and the *sh*, the ד, שׁ and שׂ). For though *Nazareth* be indeed so represented universally in the West, no such fatality has attended the name in the Oriental tongues; where, whether as denoting the place, or, what is far more universal, the title of the Divine Founder of our religion, and of the Christians his followers, known as *Nasaræi*¹¹⁴ throughout all the East, the medial letter is ever the *Ssad* ص or ז; and this letter is not commutable with the *j* or proper *z*, and still less so, if possible, with the ד or lisping *z*, which is the medial of the other name: no Oriental ever identifying it in sound even with the former of those two letters, as the Jews of the dispersion in modern Europe have of late taught us to do¹¹⁵. Hence, however alike *Nazarite* and

¹¹⁴ نَصَارَى *Nasáray*, or نَصْرَانِي *Nasránay*, is the name by which Christians are most commonly known in all the regions both of Western Asia and of Africa, to which the false religion of Mahomet has extended: from whence it has extended to others. The name of the town *Násirat* نَاصِرَة, whence that appellation origi-

nated, is far less generally known, except among Christians. And it is very observable that in the Arabic dialect (though not in the Syriac and Chaldaic, from which the appellation first proceeded), the prominent meanings of the root are those of *help*, and of *victory*: as in Hebrew the main idea is that of *keeping* and *preserving*.

¹¹⁵ Witness the names, utterly unknown to Christian ears till lately, of *Zidon*, *Zion*, &c. instead of the old names, known to heathens also, of *Sidon*, *Sion*, &c. It is by a happy inconsistency that we have not learned to speak of "the Lord God of *Zebaoth*" as do the Jews (as we read in the life of Mendelssohn, and other books published by them): the Divine title of the *Te Deum*, and of the more sacred Oracles of the New Testament, still keeps its venerated form with us. By a strange and more complete contradiction to the old adaptations of the Roman to

Nazarene may appear in Greek, or Latin, or English, a gulf as rarely passed as that between any two most dissimilar letters of the alphabet separates their respective originals נזיר and נוצרי (נזיר and נاصري). And with respect to theological truth, the discrepancy is equally manifest to an eastern or western reader. It is a vain attempt to fasten upon our Lord a character and a type which, if *Samson* or *Samuel* or any other unshaven Nazarite be its representative in the Old Testament, belongs rather to his forerunner than to himself: rather to John who came expressly in *that* way of righteousness, than to the Son of Man who came eating and drinking; who amidst all the asceticism of his occasional practice complied in his ordinary dress, and diet, and demeanour, with the common custom of his people¹¹⁶. But if *Joseph*, to whom Calvin and Spanheim point as bearing this epithet of old, be the instance rather selected, he is, on an opposite account, the most improper type of our Lord in this particular. The circumstance in which that patriarch (though never appellatively called *Nazir*, as were the two others, and therefore wanting to the prophecy even in this misapprehension of its term,) was nevertheless נזיר אחיו or "separate from his brethren," was his adoption of the Egyptian shaven crown and rules of caste, which separated his nomadic kindred as abomination even from the intercourse of eating and drinking¹¹⁷: carrying this, as Pharaoh's prime minister, even to the close of life; when, instead of being buried *at once* in the grave of his fathers, he was disembowelled and embalmed and preserved in a coffin above ground, after the manner of that most singular nation; though still retaining throughout that faith of God's people which led him "to give commandment

the Hebrew alphabet, which prevailed from all antiquity to far below the times of Origen and Jerome, as well as its adaptation to every other Semitic dialect beside Hebrew even now all over the world, we find some later scholars choosing to express the Hebrew *Zain* by an *s*, while they express the *Sade* by a *z*; thus giving us Zephaniah and Sechariah instead of the *Σοφορίας* and *Ζαχαρίας* of the ancient Church. (The sound of the *Sade*, as pronounced by Arabs, may be still very well described in the words of Jerome, note 110 *sup*.)

¹¹⁶ Compare the designation of John as a Nazarite by the Angel, Luke i. 15, and his actual practice (as conformed to the ancient examples of note 113 *sup*.) in Luke i. 80; Matt. iii. 4; xi. 7—19; with the express contrast of him and Jesus Christ on this point, made in the last cited place, by our Lord himself.

¹¹⁷ Compare particularly Gen. xliii. 30, 31, 32 with xlix. 26, where, as also in Deut. xxxiii. 16, Joseph's epithet is rendered appellatively "*Nazaræus* inter fratres suos," in Jerome's Vulgate. (Onkelos's rendering is פִּרְיִישָׁא דְאַחֵוֹהִי ("Phariæus, i. e. discretus a fratribus").

concerning his bones¹¹⁸." For in all respects of this kind our Lord was not *nazir* or *separate* from his brethren, but *conformed* to them. And the circumstances in which Joseph and Samuel were both, though in very different respects, types of Him¹¹⁹, lie quite apart from those in which the epithet NAZIR was severally applicable to both.

If this interpretation offends by a false definiteness, that again is too indefinite, and wanting to the explicit terms of the Evangelic citation, which finds in this withdrawal to the ill-reputed town of Nazareth in Galilee only an accomplishment of that saying of the prophets which ascribed to the Christ the character of being despised and rejected¹²⁰. This circumstance is however included in that most definite interpretation of the citation which has the best catholic testimony of ancient times, as we have seen, for its warrant. The Redeemer of Israel, who under the title of either נָצִיר, or its synonym צִמָּח, is characterized expressly by three at least of the great ancient prophets as a future "Branch" of that house,—to accomplish for that

¹¹⁸ In the same last chapter of Genesis we see the contrast of the burial of his nomadic father in Palestine, though attended and mourned by Egyptians as well as his own children, vv. 7—14, with the obsequies of Joseph himself, the *mummy* being especially named in the last verse; notwithstanding the memorable faithful direction in the two verses preceding, of which we read the execution in Exod. xiii. 19; Joshua xxiv. 32, and the eulogy in Acts vii. 16; Heb. xi. 22.

¹¹⁹ *Joseph*, in his persecution by his brethren, his humiliation attended with calumny and imprisonment, his exaltation from this depth to the right hand of sovereign power, and protection actively exercised for his household; *Samuel*, in his prophetic office and teaching, his sacrificing as a priest for sinful Israel, and above all, his watchful and efficacious intercession on their behalf with God.

¹²⁰ This opinion is suggested by J. G. Altmann in the treatise above cited (note 112 *sup.*), also by Vriemoot, *Dissertatio de Vaticiniis de Jesu tanquam Nazareno* (*Obs. Miscell.* pp. 322—346). It is without reason that these scholars, after having refuted the *Nazarite* hypothesis of Bucer and Spanheim, are dissatisfied with an explication, against which they have no critical objection to urge, and which can alone support what is true in their own speculation, otherwise destitute of all force and reality. For how can the mere announcement that our Lord was hidden and despised be termed a prophetic *assertion* (ἀπόδειξις) that he should be commonly termed Ναζωραῖος?

The same impatience of the reference to the eleventh of Isaiah seems to have led a more eminent man of the same nation and confession, Herman Witsius, to seek to improve the notion of נָצִיר, a Branch, without rejecting it absolutely, by the addition of other titles from the same Hebrew root. He suggests that our

Lord's character as the נָצִיר (נֹאזֵר) i. e. the *watcher*, vigilant observer, as well as

guardian, of his people, is also intended; and that among the sayings of the prophets, here referred to by St Matthew, we may include Isaiah xxvii. 3, and also Job vii. 20; Psalm xxxi. 23; Prov. xxiv. 12. But this notion, which Witsius had strangely enough taken from Faustus Socinus, introduces a real confusion into the citation; and has found scarcely any followers: as Deyling has observed in his excellent *Dissertation* on this subject. (*Observationes Sacrae*, xl. Tom. i. pp. 197—202.)

royal stock, when apparently extinct and dead, a restoration far greater and more permanent than that of his type Zorobabel, and to plant a kingdom of righteousness and peace on the earth, of which even that of his progenitor David was but an inferior resemblance,—this Branch was to be matured in a strangely mysterious process for these high destinies. He was to “grow up” in the first instance, as the chief of these prophets declared, “as a tender plant, and a root out of a dry ground:” to be “without form or comeliness,” having none of those decent splendours of outward condition that might attract the house of Israel to regard and acknowledge Him as their Sovereign¹²¹. And as the necessary means of this, his youth and opening manhood should be passed, not in Judæa, but in the northern province, termed in Isaiah’s day Galilee of the Gentiles, and in one of its least reputed towns. His origination from David, and from Bethlehem the city of David’s house, was to be concealed at first from all ordinary eyes, under the character of the carpenter’s son of Nazareth¹²². A town of which this was to be the fate, and which purely in consequence of Christ’s early residence there, should furnish first to Him, and then to His followers, one of their most familiar titles,—a title first bestowed contemptuously, yet accepted and recognized afterwards with very different feelings,—may well be conceived an object of the Divine predestination and care from the first. Fitly and providentially therefore was it *so* named, that when both our Lord and his followers were called Nazarenes, a title applied by the prophets to both was thus unconsciously conferred¹²³. In this

¹²¹ Isaiah liii. 2 seq. compared with xi. 1—10. Jer. xxiii. 5, 6. Zech. vi. 12, 13. Also Apocalypse v. 5; xxii. 16.

¹²² See particularly John i. 45, 46; vii. 41, 42; xix. 19—22: where this name is singularly connected with the mysterious development of the royalty of Jesus Christ, the Son of David.

¹²³ The name Ναζωπαῖος, first fastened on our Lord in the way of reproach, and attached finally to the Cross itself, with reference to the royalty, thus despitefully and ignominiously rejected, over the Jews, was yet assumed by Jesus glorified as a proper distinctive appellation, when first describing Himself to the chosen vessel who should bear His name to the most remote Gentiles. So we read, Acts xxii. And even thus the plural Ναζωπαῖοι, used first as a contemptuous designation of His followers, as by the orator Tertullus in the same book, xxiv. 5, was gladly assumed by them as a badge of their union to the Lord, of whose stock they were living branches. The reproachful use among the Jews continued even to the days of Jerome, when “in synagogis suis sub nomine NAZARENORUM blasphemant populum Christianum” (D. Hieron. in *Amos* i. 2. *Opp.* Tom. vi. p. 235), and long after. Nor is it perhaps without a divine adaptation, that the name by which the early Christians were thus both known by their foes and knew each other, viz. נָצְרִי is that by which, in a prophetic chapter often cited, the Watchmen are

there is nothing which is not most accordant to the usual prophetic method, and the importance there commonly assigned to the significance of proper names : nothing, finally, that the infidel objector can prove to be unworthy of the Divine Wisdom in first introducing the Incarnate Son to the world.

We have now done with that narration of our Lord's birth and infancy, which was first written for the Hebrew Christians in Palestine. Another relation remains¹²⁴, containing one link of a different nature with the secular history of the time : from which when we have first established its credibility against the objectors, we have then to evince against them its entire compatibility with the account we have now considered. And this will close our observations on that early portion of the Evangelical history which can alone with any decent plausibility be claimed by the mythists as theirs.

described, who cry to each other from Mount Ephraim that they will ascend to Mount Sion to the LORD their God. Jer. xxxi. 6.

Among Christians it is true that, in all but the most Eastern Christendom, the title as a distinctive appellation was soon displaced by that other name which they first received at Antioch: so that in the fourth century Epiphanius writes of it as peculiar to primitive times even in Palestine, that πάντες Χριστιανοὶ Ναζωραῖοι τὸτὲ ἐκαλοῦντο. In his time the appellation *Nazarene* was restricted to that party of Judaizing Christians who would preserve the barrier of partition that Christ had broken down (an error of which we have yet to apprehend the revival). Epiphan. *Hær.* xxix. But as a name by which the followers of Christ's religion universally are known to those without in the regions of the East, it still by Divine Providence maintains its ground, as remarked in note 114 *sup.*, and is clear of all ignominious acceptance.

¹²⁴ [The author did not live to complete his work by the examination, here promised, of St Luke's narrative of our Lord's birth and infancy. ED.]

APPENDIX.

A. (See page 10.)

ON PANTHEISM WITHIN THE CHURCH.

THE sacred and mysterious doctrine of the Trinity in Unity has ever been the surest safeguard against Pantheism in the Christian Church. When consubstantiality with the Divine Father of all is so restricted by the dogmatic symbols to the Son, in whom, as His expressed image, He is ever manifested externally, and the Spirit, by whom He is every where vitally and internally present, it must always be impossible, without conscious impiety and departure from the baptismal faith, to think of any soul or personality beside that of the Three Divine Persons, as constituting in any sense part of the Pleroma of the Godhead. Whatever of this impiety has ever been found within the Church's pale has either arisen from the heated imagination of individual mystics, whom spiritual arrogance may have tempted to soar to regions that Pagan devotees have constantly occupied, or from some infusion of Gentile philosophy leading particular speculators astray.

We read in St Jerome's *Epistle to Avitus*, where he enumerates the errors of Origen, a distinct charge of this among the rest. "In ejusdem voluminis fine conjungit omnes rationabiles naturas, id est Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, Angelos, potestates, dominationes, cæterasque virtutes, ipsum quoque hominem, secundum animæ dignitatem, unius esse substantiæ. *Intellectualem, inquit, rationabilemque naturam sentit Deus et Unigenitus Filius ejus et Spiritus Sanctus: sentiunt Angeli et potestates cæteræque virtutes: sentit interior homo, qui ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei conditus est. Ex quo concluditur, Deum et hæc quodammodo unius esse substantiæ. Unum addit verbum quodammodo, ut tanti sacrilegii crimen effugeret.*" The treatise here meant of Origen, *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, as we have it in Rufinus's Latin version, does not contain any passage that bears out this serious accusation: and (in the absence of any distinct assertion

of this error in his writings, though we do find there other heathen errors, e. g. the metempsychosis, &c.) it is scarcely fair to impute this absence to the partiality of his translator, when the internal evidence of the above hostile passage, and even the word *quodammodo* benignantly interpreted, may lead us far more probably to impute mistake to his vehement critic.

In the ninth century, as we find in Mabillon's *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti*, Tom. III. p. 139, a certain Scotchman or Irishman, named Macarius, whom Ratramnus calls by way of ridicule *Baccharius*, had imbibed, from a wrong understanding of a passage in St Augustine *de Quantitate Animæ*, the opinion that there was but one soul in all men, "unam in omnibus hominibus esse animam." This opinion he communicated to one of the monks of Corbey, whose zealous advocacy of it called forth the refutation of Ratramnus: the same to whom we are indebted for the masterly statement yet extant, of what had been ever received as the Catholic doctrine of the Body and Blood of the Lord, when Paschasius Radbertus, another of his fellow-monks, propounded the gross doctrine of transubstantiation.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century, the introduction of the Aristotelian philosophy (as represented by the Arabian Ebn Roshd or Averroes) into the schools of Paris became the occasion of Pantheistic errors being there taught, especially by Amalric of Bena, whose doctrine is condemned by the 4th Council of Lateran, as "non tam hæretica quam insana."

Those of the more ancient writings within the Church, in which alone expressions that savour of Pantheism are to be found, are those (far less numerous than has been often alleged) in which the Platonic philosophy is really intermixed: particularly the hymns of Synesius, bishop of Cyrene, and those singular writings (first quoted in the 6th century) which bear the name of Dionysius the Areopagite. Even in these there is a strong corrective in the recognized orthodox doctrine to every thing of this nature that occurs: by which the ἐν καὶ πάντα, when predicated of the Supreme, is explained of the influx of the Divine Word in the production of all creatures, and the Divine power perpetually maintaining them in being, in which sense God is truly All in All. Thus the following passage from the book *De Divinis Nominibus*, Cap. II., while it effectually excludes proper Pantheism, may supply a just, as well as a favourable, interpretation of the *quodammodo* above-mentioned (as referred to Origen by Jerome). Ἐπειδὴ ὢν ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς ὑπερουσίως, δωρεῖται δὲ τὸ εἶναι τοῖς οὐσι, καὶ παράγει τὰς ὅλας οὐσίας, πολλαπλασιάζεσθαι λέγεται τὸ ἐν ὃν ἐκείνῳ τῇ ἐξ αὐτοῦ παραγωγῇ τῶν πολλῶν ὄντων, μένοντος δὲ οὐδὲν ἡττον ἐκείνου,

καὶ ἐνὸς ἐν τῷ πληθύνει καὶ ἡνωμένου κατὰ τὴν πρόσοδον, καὶ πλήρους ἐν τῇ διακρίσει, τῷ πάντων εἶναι τῶν ὄντων ὑπερουσίως ἐξηρημένον. This is sufficiently explicit to remove the worst interpretation from other more startling expressions of the same pseudo-Dionysius. Certainly those by whom these strange ontological writings were diligently read in the middle ages (ages as metaphysically subtle, as they were critically obtuse), and in France especially, as the undoubted works of the primitive Athenian convert who was celebrated as the converter of that country, could not have understood them pantheistically; e.g. John Gerson, who cites this author as “*edoc-tum a conscio sacrorum cœlestium Paulo*.” Gerson’s remoteness from such errors is unquestioned: and with respect to the Latin translator of the pseudo-Areopagite, the celebrated Joannes Scotus Erigena, his sentiments are examined at length from his other writings in a singularly able and learned dissertation by Dr Staudenmayer of Freiburg in Bresgau; and their separation on the Pantheistic point from the sentiments of Schelling and Hegel, satisfactorily evinced. See the *Theological Journal* of that place, Vol. III. Part II. Art. 1.

B. (p. 11.)

ON THE PANTHEISM OF THE CABBALA.

It has been made a matter of controversy whether the Cabbala is pantheistic and contains the germ of Spinozism. Wachter, a Professor of Berlin, who at the close of the 17th century charged it with this anti-Mosaic doctrine, and deification of the world, afterwards changed his mind: but as he only acquitted the Cabbala by acquitting Spinoza also, and contending that the prejudice against his system as atheistic was an unjust one, his retractation tells for the fact of the connexion between the two, even more than his previous accusation. An account of the controversy on this subject may be seen in Wolf’s *Bibliotheca Hebræa*, Vol. iv. pp. 1235, 6. Basnage (*Histoire des Juifs*, Liv. iv. ch. 7) maintains that the Cabbala is spiritually pantheistic, though free from Spinoza’s materialism: avoiding indeed that error, and the ordinary heathen notion of an independent ὕλη, to which its maxim *Ex nihilo nihil fit* would otherwise lead, by affirming (with the Vedantists of India) the unsubstantiality of matter. The truth on this subject may be ascertained by a reference to the *Zohar*, or to the

various Jewish authorities brought together in the large but very ill-digested compilation of Knorr, entitled “Kabbala Denudata.” From the Crown or radiant centre of this cosmogony, which is the *Infinite Light* אור אין סוף, the other nine Sephiroth or Æons are said to proceed, not by way of בריאה, i.e. Creation from nothing, or of יצירה, i.e. Formation of a godlike character in a given subject by a divine efflux upon it, or lastly of עשיה, i.e. Fabrication from pre-existent materials, but by what is far more excellent than all these, and implying perfect identity of substance, viz. the way of אצילות, i.e. Emanation. And in the first rank of consubstantial emanations, even at the centre and source of all, at the head of the several worlds of emanation, creation, &c., we find the first Adam אדם קדמון, i.e. the Archetypal Man, to whom they refer the words Gen. i. 26, as we read in the book *Drushim*, p. 27, seq., and the *Porta Calorum*, p. 208, seq. (ap. Knorr, Tom. I. and II.), who is invested with all the divine properties that characterize the second and the following Sephiroth, viz. *Wisdom* (חכמה), *Intelligence* (בינה), &c., &c., and who bears also the ineffable Tetragrammaton יהוה, on the letters of which these teachers subtilize without end. Here then the Cabbala symbolizes completely with its German descendants, placing Humanity as such in the place of the Divine Logos and consubstantial image, by whom God made the worlds; and contradicting in terms the true Cabbala of St Paul, who declares the first Adam, to whom the breath of life was imparted, to be of the earth, earthy, and the second Adam alone, the Restorer of humanity, to be the Lord from heaven.

Dr Henry More has indeed endeavoured (*Ratio Nominum et Sephararum*, pp. 19—27, ap. Knorr, Tom. I.) to save the Cabbala from the imputation of pantheism by pointing to the circle of division between the first three Sephiroth, whom he identifies with the Persons of the Ever-blessed Trinity, and the last seven, *Greatness, Might, &c.*, which (in opposition to the Jewish authorities above cited and to the evident order and process of these emanations) he distinguishes *in kind* from the former, as being merely creative and finite effluxes of the Divinity, and identifies with the seven Spirits around the Throne in the Apocalypse. That circle will not bear out a distinction of this magnitude, between the personal and the impersonal, the Eternal and the finite; still less will it be borne out by the actual Jewish distinction between the first three and the last seven, as respectively אריך אנפין and צעיר אנפין, the Macroprosopon and the Microprosopon, in their anthropomorphic symbols. The same distinction between the first three and the last seven Sephiroth has been attempted, with much greater Rabbinical learning, by Mr Oxlee, in his valuable work, *The*

Christian Doctrines of the Trinity and Incarnation considered and maintained on the principles of Judaism, Prop. ii. ch. 9. (Vol. i. pp. 152—184); but the various Cabbalistic authorities quoted by him prove no more than a priority of order and dignity in the former: the Crown, the two following and the last seven, being related to each other severally as root, stem and branches. But allowing the utmost to this distinction between the several consubstantial emanations of the Supreme, it would not save the purity of Theism in this singular system. For the archetypal man aforesaid, the Adam Kadmon (of whom Oxlee is silent altogether),—though he has his name peculiarly attached to the sixth Sephirah of תפארה or *Beauty* (and this with the incommunicable divine Tetragrammaton affixed!)—ascends much higher than this, as I before remarked, to the region of the first three Sephiroth, and even of the “Ôr Ain-Soph,” the inaccessible Light, which is the first of all. We find the greatest Cabbalistic authority, R. Simeon ben Yocai, the disciple of Akiba, distinctly asserting this in the *Tekkunim*, as quoted in Knorr, Vol. i. p. 28. “There is no Sephirah (or Æon) which is not called Adam: but the highest of all is the Crown: the name of this one is the Adam Kadmon, the first man: and he is therefore called קדמון the *first, because he is before all emanation* (אצילות) and prior to it.”

Again, some Christian admirers of the Cabbala have availed themselves of the same view of the distinction made sometimes by the Jews between this first or Archetypal Adam and the actual protoplast, in order to prove the former to be, not humanity as such, but the Divine Word who was made flesh. So it may have been in the original tradition of which this magical cosmogony is a corruption. But in the Cabbala, this Archetypal Man is not represented as the Messiah or Redeemer, but as a medium of operation in the production of all other beings, as Knorr has stated well in his *Amica Responsio ad Morum*. And when accordingly we identify him with the מִימְרָא of the Chaldee Paraphrast, who is the Co-eternal Wisdom of Prov. viii., the Divine Word of St John, the Εἰκὼν τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου, πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως of St Paul, i.e. the Second Person of the Trinity, it will still not be the true catholic Christian doctrine, but a gross heresy, that this Cabbalistic Adam exhibits. It is, in fact, the Christian “gnosis” of Baur and Strauss, which talks of God incarnate in manhood from the beginning of all things: or at best that strangely heretical notion into which even Dr Isaac Watts was led by the difficulty of conceiving the Eternal generation of the Son,—that of the pre-existence of Christ’s *human soul*, and its instrumentality in the creation of the world. Monstrous as are these opinions—(like that of

Menu, after the deluge, creating the world for himself in the Hindu system)—they are instructive as examples: the former of the extravagance of such as make these things matters of γνῶσις or speculation, instead of mere revelation; the latter of the errors into which those are ever liable to fall who, admitting the fact of revelation and the divinity of its record, undervalue the aid of catholic tradition in ascertaining what, by the divine promise, is its imperishable meaning, as it respects the fundamental articles of faith. To make the assumption of humanity by the Divine Word antecedent to His conception in the fulness of time of the Virgin Mary (Gal. iv. 4),—except only in the divine counsel and predestination, which embraces all things from the beginning,—is to tamper with a main article of the universal Christian creed.

Henry More was led, from another cause, to look too favourably on this imagined identity of this first Adam of the Cabbala with the second Adam of Christians, from regard to the Platonic and Origenian notion of the pre-existence of human souls generally. But however anxious to shew the pure theism and Christianity of the Cabbala such as he imagines it to have existed at first, he is not blind to the antichristian pantheism of the actual Cabbalists: which he has indeed traced in all its revolting features in a treatise to which he has given the following strange title (the consequence of a yet stranger dream of his own), “*Fundamenta Philosophiæ sive Cabbalæ Aëto-Pædo-Melisseæ, quæ omnem Creationem propriè sic dictam negat, essentiamque supponit Divinam quasi corporeo-spiritualem, mundumque materialem aliquo modo spiritum: cum brevi ac luculenta prædictorum fundamentorum confutatione.*” On the pantheism of the Cabbala (which we may remark as peculiar to it in Judaism,—the Mishna and Gemara, however fruitful in other gross anti-Mosaical errors, being apparently free from this), we may also refer to the valuable work of the Abbé Chiarini, *Théorie du Judaïsme*, Tôm. I. pp. 191, 192: and for the disputed question of the antiquity of the *Zohar* and other Cabbalistic works, to De Rossi, *Dizionario Storico degli Autori Ebrei*—art. Simone figlio de Iochai.

C. (p. 11.)

ON THE PANTHEISM OF THE HEGELIAN DOCTRINE.

To shew what are the real views of the newest actual school of philosophy in Germany, which are termed in the present treatise pantheistic, no testimony can be more unexceptionable than that of its historian, Dr C. L. Michelet of Berlin, given on occasion of a discussion on this subject,—the Personality of God, and the doctrine of Creation inseparably connected with it (*die aus der Personlichkeit Gottes fließende Schöpfungslehre*). Schaller, a professed Hegelian, in a work entitled *The Philosophy of our Time*, had attempted to maintain the orthodoxy of the school in this article, as Göschel had done before on another topic, that of the (personal) Immortality of the Soul: for which they are both ranked by Michelet as part of a group ready to apostatize from the school to the religionists, as Bauer had already, like Fichte jun. and Braniss and some others long before. The doctrine, however, is the important point; and here the Hegelian law is laid down thus,—which I would contrast with the opposed theistic conclusions of Sir I. Newton, at the close of the *Principia*.

NEWTON.

Vera HEGELII doctrina de Dei personalitate non ea est, qua statuitur Deum esse unam aliquam personam præ aliis personis: neque magis tamen est ille universalis substantia. Est equidem Deus motio æterna universi mundi se perpetuo tanquam subjectum exhibentis; id est, quod primum in subjecto ad objectivitatem veramque existentiam pervenit, adeoque subjectum ipsum in suam abstractam *αὐτοουσίαν* evehit. Itaque *Deus*, ex Hegelii sententia, *non est Persona sed personalitas ipsa, unicum scilicet verum personale: quocirca omne subjectum, quod nihilominus divinæ substantiæ oppositum diversa quædam persona haberi velit, malum est,*

Hic omnia regit, non ut Anima Mundi, sed ut universorum Dominus; et propter dominium suum, Dominus Deus Παντοκράτωρ dici solet. Nam Deus est vox relativa, et ad servos refertur: et deitas est dominatio Dei, non in corpus proprium, uti sentiunt quibus Deus est anima mundi, sed in servos.... Æternus est et infinitus, omnipotens et omnisciens, id est durat ab æterno in æternum, et adest ab infinito in infinitum: omnia regit, et omnia cognoscit, quæ fiunt aut fieri possunt. *Non est æternitas et infinitas, sed æternus et infinitus: non est duratio et spatium, sed durat et adest. Durat semper, et adest ubique: et existendo semper et ubique, du-*

HEGEL.

immo τὸ κακόν. Cæterum dum Deus æterna personalitas est, *alteram illam sui (effigiem) Naturam ex se æternum prodire sivit, quo tanquam Spiritus seu Anima Universi in sui ipsius conscientiam perveniret. Sit modo hic Spiritus in homine, profecto non est amplius homo, qui in hoc individuo vivit, verum Deus ipse in eo personalis factus.*

(Die wahrhafte Lehre Hegels über die Personlichkeit Gottes ist nun nicht, dass Gott eine Person neben andern Personen ist: eben so wenig ist er aber die bloß allgemeine Substanz. Er ist die ewige Bewegung des sich stets zum Subjecte machenden Allgemeinen, das erst im Subjecte zur Objectivität und wahrhaften Bestehen kommt, und somit das Subjecte in seinem abstracten Fursichsein aufhebt. Gott ist also nach Hegel nicht eine Person, sondern die Personlichkeit selbst, das einzige wahrhaft Persönliche, wogegen das Subjecte, welches noch im Gegensatz gegen die göttliche Substanz eine besondere Person sein will, eben das Böse ist. Weil Gott die ewige Personlichkeit ist, so hat er ewig das andere seinere, die Natur, aus sich hervorgehen lassen, um ewig als Geist der Gemeinde zum Selbstbewusstsein zu gelangen. Ist dieser Geist im Menschen, so ist es der Mensch nicht mehr, der in diesem Einzelnen lebt, sondern Gott selbst, der in ihm persönlich geworden.)

NEWTON.

rationem et spatium constituit... Omnipræsens est, non per virtutem solam, sed etiam per substantiam; nam virtus sine substantia existere non potest. In ipso continentur et moventur universa, sed sine mutua passione. Deus nihil patitur ex corporum motibus: illa nullam sentiunt resistantiam ex omnipræsencia Dei.... Hunc cognoscimus solummodo per proprietates ejus et attributa, et per sapientissimas et optimas rerum structuræ et causas finales, et admiramur ob perfectiones, veneramur autem et colimus ob dominium. Colimus enim ut servi: et Deus sine dominio, providentia, et causis finalibus, nihil aliud est quam fatum et natura. *A cæca necessitate metaphysica, quæ utique eadem est semper et ubique, nulla oritur rerum variatio. Tota rerum conditarum pro locis ac temporibus diversitas ab ideis et voluntate Entis necessario existentis solummodo oriri potuit.*

The unprejudiced inquirer may be requested to look on this statement and on that, without reference to names: and to determine on which side lie sense and reason, and the testimony of conscious experience.

D. (p. 25 and p. 39.)

ON INDIAN PANTHEISM.

THE statements of Hindu doctrine which were made on occasion of singularly parallel statements of Strauss in pp. 25, 29, 39, &c. of this work, may be readily verified and carried further by any one who will consult even the authorities open to European readers: such as Wilkins's or Schlegel's translation of the *Bhagavad Gita*, and Professor Wilson's of the *Vishnu Purana*, for the popular form of the doctrine; for its more ancient form Jones's or Haughton's *Institutes of Menu*, particularly the last book; and for an accurate discrimination of what belongs to the several philosophical schools, the dissertations of Colebrooke and Wilson's translation of the *Sankhya Karika*. But on the subject of the natural passing out from idolatry into this recognition of the TO EN, in which polytheism is only absorbed by the absorbing of theism itself, i. e. by identifying the worshipper with the worshipped, it may be useful to corroborate the statement from the most ancient and venerated sources of Hindu Theology, the *Vedas*. The two following quotations, though not perhaps the most appropriate that could be found, I give, as the first that occurred to me.

The *Vaja-Saneyas-Sanhita*, the poetical part of the second of the four Vedas, after giving in its former chapters the details of worship and sacrifices to the gods, proceeds in the 40th and last to the combination of this with that spiritual knowledge by which alone eternal emancipation from all future metempsychosis is attained. In vv. 15, 16, the worshipper is described as addressing the Sun, desiring to penetrate the Supreme essence of which that is the most glorious manifestation:

हिरण्मयेन पात्रेण सत्यस्यापिहितं मुखं ।
 तत्त्वं पूषन्नपावृणु सत्यधर्म्मस्य दृष्टये ॥ १५ ॥
 पूषन्नेकर्षे यम सूर्य्य प्राजापत्य बृह रश्मीन्

समूह तेजो यत्ते रूपं कल्याणतमं तत्ते पश्यामि ।

योऽ सावसौ पुरुषः सोऽ हमस्मि ॥ १६ ॥

“By a vessel, though golden, the face of the True is hidden from me. Discover, O Sun, the one real Essence, that I may see (and attain) true religion. Nourisher (of the world), unique mover in the heavens, child of Brahma's first born, disperse thy rays, restrain thy (fierce) splendour that I may behold thy most blessed (interior) form. But lo, the very Male Principle (that I seek in thee) *That am I.*”

That is, says the great Vedantic commentator Sancara Acharya (who himself combined grossly idolatrous observances and zeal for Brahmanical caste against Buddhism, with the highest spirituality of this description), “Nevertheless (says the worshipper) I do not seek thee like a servant: since the very PURUSHA or Male Spirit, which abides in the universe, of which my mystic prayer is a portion, that I am or become.”

किंचाहं न च त्वां भृत्यवद्याचे योऽ सौ मण्डलस्थो

व्याहत्यावयवः पुरुषः सोऽ हमस्मि भवामि

(See p. 29 note).

To the above verses of the second or *Yajur Veda* I add the following from the *Mundaka Upanishad*, or one of the mystical sections of the fourth *Veda*, which may be considered as embodying the whole esoteric principle of the Brahmanic faith. (It was so understood by Anquetil du Perron, who made it the motto of his translation of the *Upanishads* at second hand from the Persian.)

स यो हवैतत्परमं ब्रह्म वेद ब्रह्मैव भवति ॥

Quisquis hoc Supremum Numen novit, næ is Numen fit.

He who knows that Supreme Deity, is that Deity itself.

It may be remarked that both Sir W. Jones, who has translated the former of these Vedic passages (*Works*, Vol. XIII. p. 374, 375), and Rammohun Roy, who has included both in his translation from the Vedas, have softened the Pantheism by monotheistic additions in italics. There are passages from the new German school nearly identical with the above, e. g. “Was hier erkennt und was erkannt wird est ein und dasselbe Gott.” (See Vol. II. p. 314 of the *Freiburg Zeitschrift für Theologie*.) Aristotle had said long before Schelling, in his book *de Anima*, ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἀνευ ὕλης τὸ αὐτὸ ἐστὶ τὸ νοοῦν

καὶ τὸ νοούμενον. We find the same doctrine in the metaphysical schools even of monotheistic Arabia. Thus in the curious work of Ebn Tophail, the History of the Self-taught Philosopher Hai Ebn Yokdhan, we read (pp. 160, 161, *ed.* Pococke, Oxon. 1671):—

من حصل عنده العلم بذاته فقد حصل عنده ذاته وقد كان
حصل عنده العلم فحصلت عنده الذات وهذا الذات لا تحصل
الا عند ذاتها ونفس حصولها هو الذات فاذا هو الذات بعينها
وكذلك جميع الذوات المفارقة لمادة العارفة بتلك الذات الحققة
التي كان يراها اولا كثيرة وصارت عنده بهذا الظن شيا واحدا

“To whomsoever the knowledge of His essence (the divine) has become present, to him is that essence also present. The knowledge having been present, the essence is therefore necessarily present, for this is an essence which is not present except to itself: its very presence or attainment is the essence, even the essence itself. And therefore all beings distinct from matter which know that true essence, which he (the self-taught philosopher) used before to view as many, have become to him, by virtue of that thought, but one substance.”

Between this Oriental doctrine, and that Christian truth which states (1 Cor. ii.) that God can be known only by his own Spirit illuminating the soul of the creature, or even the idea of Malebranche and others that we see all things in God, there is an immense difference.

E. (p. 124.)

ON THE CAPTAIN OF THE LORD'S HOST (Josh. v. 13, 14, 15).

THAT the Angel of the Lord who preceded the children of Israel from Egypt in the cloud and in the fire, was (agreeably to Exod. xiii. 20, 21, compared with xiv. 19, 20; Num. xx. 6, &c.) the LORD himself, possessor of the incommunicable name יהוה; and that this Angel of the Covenant, (as he is termed in Mal. iii. 1 compared with Gen. xlviii. 15, 16, &c.) is the Uncreated Word, who appeared in visible form to Jacob and Moses, and who was in the fulness of time

incarnate in the person of Jesus Christ, is the known undoubted faith of the Church of God, and needs not to be enlarged on here. This same Uncreated Angel, in whom was the name of the LORD, is promised, by the mouth of Moses in Exod. xxiii. 20—23, to continue to precede the armies of Israel¹, and cut off the Canaanites before them: but with an awful caution annexed, that they should be careful not to provoke that august Presence, intolerant of any contact with sin. But after the transgression of the calf in Horeb, it is as solemnly propounded, in Exod. xxxiii. 2, 3, that another Angel, expressly distinguished from the Divinity, and therefore a created Being, should execute that part of the former's province, which consisted in preceding their host and exterminating their enemies; the Divine Presence which would otherwise consume them being withdrawn. And though the worst part of this sentence was removed, as we find in the subsequent part of the chapter, by the intercession of Moses, and the cloudy pillar that indicated the Divine Shekinah or inhabitation was restored to the tabernacle, and continued there, there is no proof that the function assigned in ver. 2 to the created Angel should be superseded: while in the later Prophets, and in the testimony of the New Testament respecting the elder Sinaitic dispensation as subjected to created Angels (Acts vii. 53; Gal. iii. 19; Heb. i. ii. 2—5, &c.), we have a strong argument for its continuance.

The question, however, now proposed is this. Whether of these two, the Uncreated or the created Angel, the Angel of Exodus xxiii. 20 or that of xxxiii. 2, is he who appeared to Joshua in the plain of Jericho, and announced himself as come to him in the character of "Captain of the host of the LORD"? This is stated with other biblical questions by Theodoret, in the fourth century, as one debated among Christians: and he answers, on the ground of the last-cited passage of Exodus, on the latter side, against some, apparently a minority in the Church, who asserted the former. *Quest. iv. in Jesum filium Naue.* Τίνα νοητέον τὸν Ἀρχιστράτηγον τῆς δυνάμεως Κυρίου; τινές φασι, τὸν Θεὸν Λόγον ὀφθῆναι. Ἐγὼ δὲ οἶμαι Μιχαὴλ τὸν Ἀρχάγγελον εἶναι. ἡνίκα γὰρ ἐπλημμέλησαν, ὁ τῶν ὄλων ἔφη Θεός· οὐ μὴ συναναβῶ μετὰ σοῦ διὰ τὸ τὸν λαὸν σκληροτράχηλον εἶναι· ἀλλ' ἀποστελῶ τὸν ἄγγελόν μου πρὸ προσώπου σου προτερόν σου. Τοῦτον οἶμαι νῦν ὀφθῆναι τῷ

¹ It is, most probably, from this office of leading the Church militant, and acting as their *Castrorum Metator* in the desert, as expressed in the 14th and 23rd chapters of Exodus, that the Angel of the Presence, the "מִימָר" or Divine Word of the Targumist, acquired among the later Rabbins the barbarized Latin name of *Metatron* מֶטַטְרוֹן; to which they continue to ascribe a divine personality, even after the notion of His incarnation in the expected Messiah has been lost through their hostility to the doctrine of the actual Saviour.

Ἰησοῦ παραβαρύνοντα καὶ τὴν θείαν βοήθειαν προσημαίνοντα. (*Opera*, Ed. Schulze, Tom. I. p. 308.) What Theodoret here expresses as his own opinion, is that which (with two remarkable exceptions which shall be presently noticed) has received the sanction of the ancient Church.

The same is also the oldest tradition of the Jews, as exemplified in Jonathan's Chaldee paraphrase of the passage in Joshua, where the Captain of God's host is twice termed, "מַלְאֲךְ שְׁלִיחַ מִן קֹדֶם," "an Angel sent from the presence of the LORD," an expression incompatible with the belief that he comprised that Presence in his own person. The same belief is no less certainly apparent in the ancient commentary of Rabbi Tanchuma Bar Aba, which I cite from the translation of Masius (*Critici Sacri*, Tom. II. p. 1540): "Dicebat Deus Mosi, *Ecce mitto ante faciem tuam Angelum*. At Moses respondit, *Ego Angelum nolo, sed Te ipsum volo*. Porro Josua filius Nun, quum primum videret Angelum, dicebat *Nosterne es, an adversariorum nostrorum?* Tum ad eum Angelus, *Ego, inquit, sum PRINCEPS EXERCITUS DOMINI; jam veni*. Ac si diceret: *Ego jam secundo adsum, ut Israelitas in possessionem suæ hereditatis ducam*. Veneram etiam cum Imperator esset Moses magister tuus: sed ille, cum me videret, nolebat me secum ire, sed a se repulit." Nothing should seem clearer from these words, than that the asserted repulse of Moses was a refusal to have any other leader than the LORD himself, and that it refers to his very strong deprecation, in Exod. xxxiii. 15, 16, of being left with no higher guide than the created Angel of verse 2^d. Therefore this exposition, making the same created Angel to be the Captain of the divine host that appeared to Joshua, is (notwithstanding some Rabbinical amplifications) in substance wonderfully coincident with the view of Theodoret above quoted: and is a strong argument for such being the general belief of the ancient Jews. The much later, but very learned, Rabbi Moses ben Nahman, who repeats the traditions of the fathers as to the appearances to Moses in the bush, and to the Israelites in the Exodus, being strictly Divine appearances, as well as

² But the learned translator Masius, by making the words of the Rabbinical author to refer to a falsely supposed rejection of the *Uncreated* Angel by Moses, has strangely misrepresented his meaning, and deduced also a mystical sentiment from it, the most opposite from his thoughts, of the loss of the Divine Presence by the carnal adherents of Moses, and its recovery in Jesus, as represented in the son of Nun. Witsius, in his *Exercitatio de Michaele*, adopts the former misinterpretation of Masius, though dissenting from the latter: for he thinks it necessary to prove that it was not Moses, but the rebellious Israelites, who rejected the Divine leader of Exod. xxiii. 20. as though R. Tanchuma had decided differently. (H. Witsii *Miscellanea Sacra*, Tom. II. p. 99.)

the Angelic Presence indicated in Exod. xxiii. 20, xxxiii. 14, says also, as quoted by Grotius, that the divine leadership of their armies was, after the worship of the calf, replaced by that of a created Archangel. (*Ad Exod.* xxiii. 20, "HUNC, ut docet Nehemianides, Deus post cultum vituli ab Israelitis abstulit, et minorem Angelum illis dedit cum potestate mere angelica.")

Agreeably to this view, we do not find that the Christian Fathers, when speaking, as they frequently do, of the Son of God as appearing in the Old Testament, and as the special object of the provocation of the Israelites, include this appearance to Joshua among the *θεοφανείαι*. But to this there are two distinguished exceptions. The one is Justin Martyr, who, after describing the appearance to Moses in the bush, says (*Dial. cum Tryphone*, p. 183, *ed.* Jebb), *Μαρτύριον δὲ καὶ ἄλλο ὑμῖν, ὃ φίλοι, ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν δώσω, ὅτι ἀρχὴν πρὸ πάντων τῶν κτισμάτων ὁ Θεὸς γεγέννηκε Δύναμιν τινὰ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ λογικὴν, ἣτις καὶ Δόξα Κυρίου ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος τοῦ ἁγίου καλεῖται, ποτὲ δὲ Υἱὸς, ποτὲ δὲ Σοφία, ποτὲ δὲ Ἀγγελος, ποτὲ δὲ Θεὸς, ποτὲ δὲ Κύριος καὶ Λόγος· ποτὲ δὲ Ἀρχιστράτηγον ἑαυτὸν λέγει, ἐν ἀνθρώπου μορφῇ φανέντα τῷ τοῦ Ναυῆ Ἰησοῦ.* The other is Eusebius, who, in the second prefatory chapter to his Ecclesiastical History, "concerning the pre-existence and divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," adds to the indubitable instances of His manifestation as the sole image of God to man this revelation of himself as Leader of the Army of God: relating the appearance at length from the LXX. version of Joshua, and arguing the identity of the person manifested with Him who appeared to Moses from the command to both to loose the sandals from their feet, because the place on which they stood was sanctified by that Presence. Against this sentiment of Eusebius an ancient annotator has inserted in the margin this remarkable protest, preserved on account of its antiquity and its elegance of style by Valesius *ad loc.* 'Αλλ' ἡ ἐκκλησία, ὃ ἀγιώτατε Εὐσέβιε, ἐτέρως τὰ περὶ τούτου νομίζει καὶ οὐχ ὡς σὺ τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῇ βιάτῳ φανέντα τῷ Μωϋσῇ θεολογεῖ· τὸν δὲ ἐν Ἱεριχῷ τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν ὀφθέντα, τὸν τῶν Ἑβραίων ἐπιστασίαν λαχόντα, μάχαιραν ἐσπασμένον, καὶ τῷ Ἰησοῦ λῦσαι προστάττοντα τὸ ὑπόδημα, τοῦτον δέ γε τὸν ἀρχάγγελον ὑπέληφε Μιχαὴλ· καὶ δῆλον ὅτι κρεῖττον ὑπέληφε σοῦ· πόθεν; ἐρωτηθεὶς παρὰ τῇ βιάτῳ φανείς ὁ Θεὸς ἐν εἶδει πυρὸς τῷ ἑαυτοῦ θεραπείοντι Μωϋσῇ, καὶ δηλῶν ὅστις εἶη, τοῦτο αὐτῷ τρανώτατα παριστᾷ, ὅτι δὴ ὁ Θεὸς ἐστίν· ὁ δὲ τῷ Ἰησοῦ φανείς, οὐδὲ Θεὸν ἑαυτὸν, ἀλλ', Ἀρχιστράτηγον ὠνόμασε τοῦ Θεοῦ· τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς ἀνωτάτω δυναστείας

τε καὶ θεότητος ὑποδεέστερον ὄν, καὶ οὐκ ἀρχικὸν ἀλλ' ὑπαρχικόν. (Euseb. *H. E.* Tom. i. pp. 17, 18, *ed.* Heinichen.)

The interpreter of Scripture has to choose between the reasons of this anonymous writer, supported as they are by the unquestionably true allegation of general catholic consent, and those of the learned historian on whom he is commenting. That this Angel, in describing his name and dignity to Joshua, so far from exhibiting any analogy with the assertion of supreme Deity in *Exod. iii. 6*, gives a name implying only a ministerial superintendence, is undeniable: (for to say that the chief of the army of the LORD must be the LORD himself, is the same as saying that the captain of the guard, the chief of the butlers and of the bakers, all denoted by the same word *שַׂר* in *Gen. xxxix, xl*, must mean Pharaoh the sovereign of all). And the impression of this signal difference can only be removed by the most distinct proof that the act commanded severally in *Exod. iii. 5* and *Jos. v. 15* was in both instances *similarly referred to the immediate speaker*, and that an honour and obeisance were rendered to the latter by Joshua, beyond what is allowed to any created being. Such indeed is the general, though not quite unanimous, opinion of Protestant commentators on this passage, followed also by Abp. Usher, Bp. Patrick, and others of the Anglican Church. And were this latter point indeed made clear, it would ill become any member of that Church (the reviver and maintainer of the protest of the Western Church in the 8th and 9th centuries, though abandoned by its chief See, against all adoration of creatures³), to adopt any other interpretation of the passage than theirs, who make this Captain of the LORD's Host to be the Divine Word,—the one Image and Manifestation of the invisible Father. But as, with the example of all the earlier as well as the later Scriptures before us, it seems most natural and obvious to conceive that the LORD sent this message to Joshua (*cf. vi. 2*) by the mouth of his Archangel, so there seems no derogation to the Divine honour in believing, with the Fathers of old, that the ground was hallowed which was trodden by such an exalted servant of God, and that the prostrate adoration of Joshua, like that of

³ "In eo igitur quod Joannes in Apocalypsi ab Angelo cohibetur ne se adoret, dicente eodem Angelo *Vide ne feceris, conservus tuus sum; et pastor Ecclesiæ Petrus blande centurionis adorationem vitaverit, dicens Surge, frater, et ego homo sum, sicut et tu; et vas electionis Paulus cum Barnaba Lycaonum adorationem valida reluctance spreverit; PROCULDEBIO OMNI CREATURE ADORATIO, QUÆ SOLUM DEUM DECET, QUI SOLUS ADORANDUS, SOLUS COLENDUS EST, IMPENDENDA ESSE VETATUR, salva tantummodo salutationis causa, per quam humilitas demonstratur.*" Carolus Magnus Imp. *de impio imaginum Cultu* adversus 2^{dam} Nicænam Synodum, Lib. i. cap. 9 (the real work of Charles the Great's preceptor, the English Alcuin), pp. 65, 66, *ed.* Heuman.

Daniel before the angel in Dan. x. 15⁴, (if it were such), was directed, not to the Captain of the LORD's host, but to the LORD of Hosts who sent him.

With respect to the identity of this שַׂר־צְבָאֵי־הַקָּיָהּ with Michael, to whom the same title of שַׂר is given in Dan. x. 13, 21, xii. 1 (*there* translated Prince), it is sufficiently established by the functions ascribed to the latter in that book and in the Apocalypse, as well with respect to the celestial host, as to the people of God whom he defends. But there is one species of testimony to this identity too remarkable to be overlooked, though not proposed to be followed or imitated. The same divines of the foreign reformation, who contend for the Prince of the LORD's host in Joshua being no less than the Second Person of the Ever-blessed Trinity, are most commonly impelled by the same process of argument to predicate the same of the Archangel Michael also. The process may be seen by consulting the notes of Masius and Drusius on this place of Joshua: the latter of whom however shrinks, as he well may, from asserting that Michael (called in Dan. x. 13 *one of the primary chiefs* אֶחָד הַשָּׂרִים הָרְאשִׁים) *always* denotes the Uncreated Word. Yet, with the inspired writings of Daniel, St John, and St Jude, before them, we find, from Luther downward, writers of the greatest name both of the Augsburg and the Geneva schools, Junius, Calovius, Cocceius, &c. &c. asserting this strange identity; and the learned Herman Witsius, one of the very highest note among Calvinistic divines, in an express dissertation on the subject (*de Michael Archangelo*, *Misc. Sac.* Vol. II. pp. 94—108), after representing very fairly the (insuperable) objections to this view in pp. 102—104, summing up the discussion in his last paragraph, by declaring that he has ever taught, and will ever continue to teach, that Michael and Christ are one and the same, though he would not urge it dictatorially⁵! From novel and presumptuous conclusions like these we have a preserving principle in the Church, however variously particular passages may be interpreted by its members. The

⁴ But respecting the quality of this obeisance, see Mr [now Dr] Todd's remarks in p. 138, note C of his fourth *Lecture on Antichrist*.

⁵ The only *direct* scriptural argument for this opinion is drawn from the comparison of Jude 9 with Zech. iii. 1, 2: an argument which we may safely leave any careful reader of the Scripture to confute for himself—(which he may do even without the irrefragable proof that the context of St Jude, with 2 Pet. ii. 10, 11, supplies, of the impossibility of Michael being any other than a created being). But the excessive regard paid to Talmudical authority by this school has its share in this conclusion. They quote the Rabbies' identification of Michael with their Divine Metatron (a confusion of the two distinct *Metatores* of Exod. xxiii. 20 and of xxxiii. 2, 3, such as might be expected in them), and also their ascription to Michael of the office of intercessor and presenting the prayers of the righteous: though this is an office which the Jews ascribe to others also of the heavenly host.

true doctrine of "St Michael and all Angels" was as really held by Bishop Patrick, as it was by Justin Martyr and Eusebius. Yet even here, where Mede and Bull and others have laid down the safe and true doctrine, we find the late Mr Scott in his Commentary preferring to follow Owen and Gill in thus deifying the Angelic leader of Dan. x. 21: and one of (generally) more catholic sentiments, and (subsequently) of higher station in the Church, joining to it, in his earlier years, a yet more astounding assertion than this; one to which the Dutch commentator Cocceius was driven by the necessity of his argument about Michael, but which the venerated name in question defended with zeal on its own account: I mean the assertion that the Angel (Gabriel) who appeared to Daniel, x. 5—13, 14, and speaks of Michael as his fellow, and as coming to his aid,—who also announced the Incarnation to the blessed Virgin,—was the Holy Spirit! *Memento sufficiat*. Witsius's answer to Cocceius on this point (*Misc. Sac.* Tom. II. p. 104) is not so feeble as it is represented in p. 295 of that most unhappy speculation*.

It is only from the most corrupted traditions of Jews and Mahometans, that such monstrous hypotheses as these can find support. That the older Jewish tradition in the days of our Saviour and his Apostles distinguished Michael and Gabriel as Chiefs among Angels from the Divine Personality, and from that Second Hypostasis in particular, of whom alone a personal Divine apparition can be catholically supposed, we have a decisive proof in the book of Enoch. See the passages quoted from it in pp. 125, 127; in the first of which (Enoch, ch. lx. ver. 13), the word LORDS, to whom those orders of Angels are subject, is immediately afterwards explained to include, with the Ancient of Days, "*the Elect One*," who should judge the world (as declared in ch. lxi. where the prophecies of Isaiah and Daniel respecting the Christ are ascribed to Him), and "*the other Power*, who was over the earth and the waters on that day," viz. the Divine Spirit of Gen. i. 2:—a signal testimony, at the same time to the doctrine of the Holy and Undivided Trinity as subsisting, though in a less developed form, in the synagogue of old, and to the essential distinction then recognized between the Divine Persons and all created beings, however confounded by the vainly curious traditions of an after period.

To conclude this long note. If the supposititious writings of Dionysius the Areopagite on the Celestial Hierarchy, taken up as indubitable authority by the schoolmen of the middle age, have introduced

* [See Bp. Heber's Bampton Lectures, *The Personality and Office of the Christian Comforter asserted and explained*. Oxford, 1816.]

into a great part of Christendom on this subject evils nearly akin to those condemned by the Apostle in Col. ii. 18, the disposition of many Protestant divines to get rid of created Spirits altogether in their view of the Old Testament manifestations, and to see *only* the Divine Word where the ancient Church saw Angels, is not without its serious evil also. In labouring, as if in express contradiction of St Stephen and St Paul, to prove that the Israelites, at the time of the giving of the Law and afterwards, had nothing to do with created Angels, but with the Eternal Son solely and immediately, these divines have only been preluding to a mischief, which was by most of them as little suspected as desired,—the neological infidelity. For all barriers were thus removed out of the way of the specious, but most false, assertion (Deut. xxxiii. 2, &c.), that while Moses taught a *naked* theism, the evidently Angelic doctrine of Daniel and of the New Testament was a contradictory and pagan addition to the early revelation.

F. (NOTE 21, p. 225.)

ON A TALMUDICAL STORY ABOUT JESU THE SON OF PANDERA.

THE following story, relating to our Saviour and one of his disciples, is quoted by Raymund Martin, in his *Pugio Fidei* (p. 361, *ed.* Carpzov. Lips. 1687), from the *Midrash Koheleth*, or Commentary on Ecclesiastes (i. 8).

ר' אלעזר בן דמה נשכו נחש ובא יעקב איש כפר סכניא
 לרפתו *משם ישו בן פנדריא* ולא הניח ר' ישמעאל אמר לו
 אין אתה רשאי בן דמה אמר לו אנח לי ואני מביא עליך
 ראייה שהוא מותר ולא הפסיק להביא לו ראייה עד שיצתה
 נשמתו וכו' ומה ראייה הוה ליה ביה אשר יעשה אותם האדם
 וחי בהם ולא שימות בהן :

“*R. Eliezer, the son of Dama, was bitten by a serpent: and there came to him Jacob, a man of Caphar Secania, to heal him* ¹*by the name of Jesu the son of Pandera*¹; but *R. Ismael suffered him not,*

¹ Instead of these four words, “by the name of Jesu ben Pandera,”—the common copies of the Midrash have only בשם פלוני “in the name of a certain one:” suppressing the well-known hated name, through fear of the Christians. But Voisin quotes the Masoretic gloss on the *Abodah Zarah*, as saying that he was

saying:—‘That is not allowed thee, son of Dama.’ He answered, ‘Suffer me, and I will produce an authority against thee, that it is lawful:’ but he could not produce the authority before he expired... And what was the authority? viz. Which if a man do, he shall live in them (Lev. xviii. 5). But it is not said that he shall die in them.”

The same story occurs in the Tract *Abodah Zarah* (on Idolatry) of the *Jerusalem Talmud*, fol. 46, 4, with a remarkable close, viz. that R. Ismael pronounced the dead man blessed (notwithstanding this divine judgment on his meditated disobedience), for having escaped this unhallowed cure; in reference to which he quotes Ecc. x. 8².

This Talmudic story is remarkable on several accounts. The spirit of deep malignity it evinces towards that wonder-working Person who is called the son of Pandera (on which name, see p. 200 *sup.*), gives only the greater weight to the distinct confession it contains of the reality of His beneficent power, and the blindness of that hostility which, referring His works to Beelzebub, would represent death as preferable to being benefited by them. But who is this יַעֲקֹב (Ἰακώβ), who appears as a disciple of Jesus, who claims authority to heal in His name, and whose ability to do so is admitted by these same doctors of Israel, who determine on the unlawfulness of being so healed? Voisin thinks he may have been an unbelieving Jew; like those who, in Acts xix. 13, 14, essayed to perform miracles in the name of Him whom the Apostles preached. But it is surely more congruous to suppose that it was that one of the Apostles of Christ who bore this name of Jacob, and who, beside being the nearest in kindred to his Master, was the most assiduous in preaching Him to his countrymen, and establishing from their own Scriptures the authority of His name and works in the venerated centre of their polity and religion. This supposition is confirmed by the mention of the town, Secaniah, סַכְנִיָּה, from which he is said to proceed; being in Upper Galilee, and in that part of the country where the kindred of Mary and Joseph especially resided. For there can be little doubt of its identity with סִיכְנִין, Sicenin, which, as Reland states in p. 1003 of his *Palestina Illustrata*, is very often mentioned both in

וְכָא יַעֲקֹב אִישׁ כְּפַר שַׁכְנִי מִתַּלְמִידֵי יֵשׁוּ “Jacob, a man of the town of Secania, of the disciples of Jesu.” And another gloss, *En Mishpat*, says, וְכָא יַעֲקֹב אִישׁ כְּפַר שַׁכְנִיָּה לְרִפּוּתוֹ בְּשֵׁם רַבּוֹ יֵשׁוּ “There came Jacob, a man of the town of Secania, to heal him in the name of his master Jesu.” *Pug. Fid.* p. 372.

² Tholuck, in quoting this (*Glaubwürdigkeit der Ev. Gesch.* pp. 71, 72), instead of “Jacob from the town of Secania,” gives “Jacob the son of Secaniah,” בֶּן סַכְנִיָּה. But that this is a wrong reading is manifest from the glosses quoted in the preceding note, all indicating a place, not a person.

this *Midrash Koheleth* and others : which place is set down in the valuable Itinerary of the Jewish Dr Zunz as half a day's journey north of Sepphoris or Diocæsarea ; and in the lists of Robinson and Smith is set down as *سحنين* in the tract extending westward from Tiberias and Safet to Acre. See A. Asher's edition of *Benjamin of Tudela* (London and Berlin, 1841), Vol. II. p. 442, and Robinson's *Travels in Palestine*, Vol. III. 2d Appendix, p. 133.

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